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AROSI GRAMMAR

by

A. Capell



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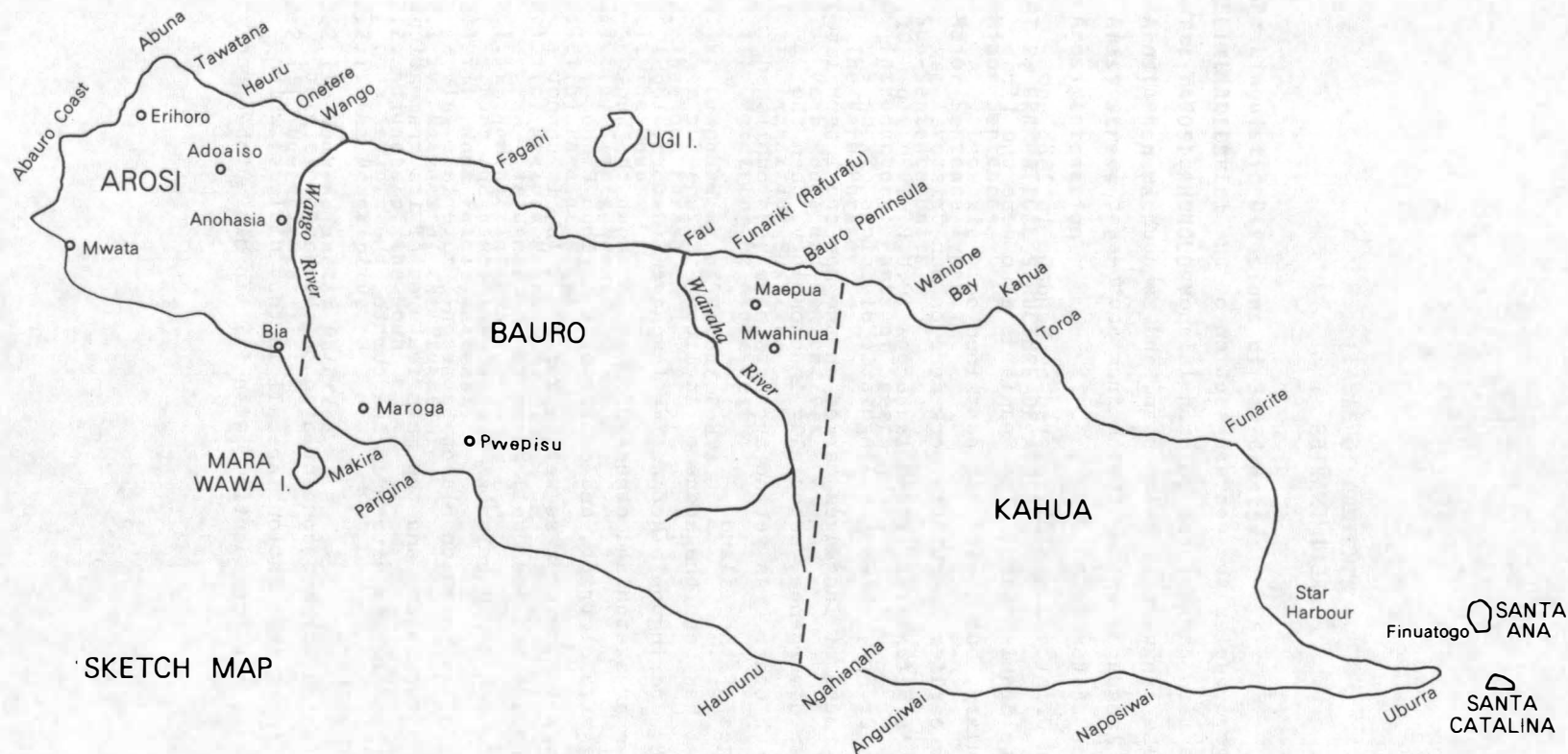
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LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF SAN CRISTOVAL: Adapted from C.E. Fox,
 "Social Organization in San Cristoval", *JRAI*, 49:95, 1919.

PRELIMINARIES

The Arosi language occupies the western section of the island of San Cristoval, in the eastern part of the Solomon Islands. Its location is shown on the map. The language is Melanesian, and as such is a member of the Austronesian languages which stretch from South-east Asia across the Pacific as far as Easter Island.

The island of San Cristoval was discovered by Mendaña in 1588 and from him received its Spanish name. The Spaniards also were the first to record any vocabulary, but their list contained only six words. A brief account of the earlier linguistic work done on San Cristoval may be found in S.H. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages* (C.U.P. 1926), p.470f. The map, provided by Dr Fox, shows the linguistic divisions of the island. The three groups of languages marked on the map are interrelated; Arosi shows a greater divergence, especially in phonology, than the remainder do from each other. As yet no accounts have been published of the other languages of the island.

The Arosi district has been the scene of Anglican Missions for a lengthy period. R.H. Codrington's *Melanesian Languages* (Oxford, 1885) contains a short grammar sketch and other information about the Wango dialect, within the Ariso district, and as far back as 1866 Bishop Patteson had done work in the area as well. For all this, it cannot be said that the language has been well known to the linguist. An account given in H.C. von der Gabelentz' *Die Melanesischen Sprachen*, Part II, (Leipzig 1873) is based on Bishop Patteson's materials, gives a fair picture of its vocabulary and the main features of its grammatical structure, but the phonology is extremely inaccurate, the glottal stop being missed out altogether.

The Melanesian Mission workers concentrated on the Wango district, and the earlier published translations are all in that dialect, which is very close to Arosi, but not identical with it. In his autobiography,

called *Kakamora* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1962, p.47) Dr Fox gives the following note:

"Arosi (the accent is on the first syllable, not the second) is the name given to the western part of San Cristoval. These local names are originally given to very small areas, and then come to be extended. Bishop Patteson knew the west end as Bauro from a small area there where he got boys for his school; in the Mission the name came to be given to the whole island. It has nothing to do with the modern Bauro, used for the central part of the island. So with Arosi, which was originally a small area near the village Tawatana, but gradually became used for the whole area from Wango village in the east round to Bia village on the west, the area where only one language is spoken."

THE COMPILER OF THE DICTIONARY

The dictionary to which this grammar is an introduction is the work of Rev. Dr Charles E. Fox. Dr Fox has spent the greater part of a long life (at time of writing he is in his 91st year) in the service of the Melanesian Mission. During the course of his work he has not only been a missionary, but an anthropologist, a linguist and a translator. His book, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, was the outcome of anthropological work carried out over a period of years before its publication in 1924, and it gained him his doctorate. The main part of the book is made up of two articles previously published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in London: (1) 'Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval (Solomon Islands)', Vol.45 (1915), pp.131-228; (2) 'Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands', Vol.49 (1919), pp.94-179. In both of these he collaborated with the Rev. F.H. Drew. During his years of living and working in San Cristoval, Fox was adopted into the Arosi people and became a master of the language. He translated the Four Gospels and Acts into Arosi, which was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1921. At present (1970) he resides at Taroaniara, Gela, in the Solomon Islands.

The Arosi Dictionary was compiled by Dr Fox many years ago, along with a full grammar and a collection of a hundred or so folktales. The last two were lost during the Second World War, and for a period it seemed that the Dictionary also had been destroyed. Ultimately it came to light, and has waited until the present time for publication. As it is the work of one who really knows both language and people well, it is of great importance to the linguistic world, as well as a well-deserved tribute to the author, that it should be published. The

grammar has been added by the present writer, partly to supply a gap which Dr Fox unfortunately cannot now supply, and partly as a tribute to him from one who has enjoyed and valued his friendship over a very long period of years. The grammar makes no claim to be 'full', but only to show something of the structure of this particular Austronesian language. The ideal would be a comparative grammar of all the San Cristoval dialects, but this is not possible at the present time.

Printed matter that exists in Arosi at the time of writing is entirely Mission Literature. The chief piece of consecutive writing is Fox's translation of the *Four Gospels and Acts*, and examples have been culled from this in the grammar because it seems to be a reliable translation which has caught the idiom of the native speakers among whom Dr Fox lived a life very closely in touch with theirs for a lengthy period - his autobiography, *Kakamora*, gives details of his experiences during that time. Earlier translations are nearly all in Wango dialect. There is a translation of most of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Anglican Church also, and while this presents a similar standard of translation, it has the disadvantage that it follows a custom adopted by the Melanesian Mission - along with others - that glottal stops may be omitted for native readers - who know where to put them! A couple of lengthy folktales in four San Cristoval dialects with interlinear translations, represent the only other native literature available, and these form an appendix to the article on Beliefs and Tales already listed.

It is to be clearly understood that the present writer is responsible for the setting out of the Grammar, which is not as Fox probably would have done it, and - still more importantly - for errors in it. With the permission of the Polynesian Society, Fox's article on Arosi numeration has been reprinted from the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.40 (1931), pp.236-43, as the section on that subject, and this has been done with the original author's agreement.

PART I
AROSI PHONOLOGY

A. Arosi Phonemes

The phonemes of Arosi are represented in the following table:

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
m	n	ŋ	
	s		
	r		
w		(y)	
	i	u	
	e	o	
	a		

The phonetic sounds represented by the above phonemes are:

1) A series of stops, voiced and voiceless, and the occurrence of the two distinct series is common to the Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands, but it is not always found in those of the New Hebrides. The voiced series occurs in the Banks and Torres Islands, but in the main area of the New Hebrides, the distinction is frequently not made, and the stop consonants are devoiced (or voiced lenes) of one series only. It is noteworthy that the New Hebrides languages which make the dual distinction are in general more closely related to the Solomon Island languages than the others are.

It is also to be noted that /b/, /d/ and /g/ are not preceded by a nasal as in many other parts of the Oceanic Austronesian area. The /t/, /d/ phonemes are post-dental. /r/ is a definite flap. The /y/ phoneme bracketed in the table is not recognised in current Arosi spelling, being marked only by the letter i, as in *iia*, *he*. However,

it forms a balanced pair of semi-contoids with /w/, and there seems to be no reasons why both should not have been provided for in the spelling of the language.

In the literature the velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented by the digraph ng and the glottal stop by the inverted comma ('), and these usages are maintained in the present grammar for the sake of harmonising it with the Dictionary. The spelling otherwise is practically phonemic.

Certain consonant clusters appear also: /pw/, /bw/, /kw/ and /gw/. The syllabic pattern of Arosi does not allow consonant clusters at all; hence these are to be interpreted as labialised forms of the respective plosives. In the nasal series /mw/ is also common and is to be interpreted in the same way.

Little comment is called for regarding the simple five-vowel system of the vocoids. The mid vowels represent /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ respectively. The latter has lip-rounding that is not present in the vowel of English *not*. The /a/ is definitely mid low.

A phoneme of vowel length is also to be recognised. In the current spelling, reflected in the Dictionary, length is indicated by a doubling of the vowel - without, presumably, any theoretical reason for its use, but only the practical reason of orthographic convenience. Certain complications can arise, e.g. ha'aaa, *disturb*, which is the causative of aa, *run hither and thither* (e.g. of ants disturbed), and this represents /ha'aa:/, with stress on the root syllable of the compound. The first vowel of a diphthong may also be lengthened: tanarauu (/tanara:u/, *to them*).

The one serious defect of much of the Mission literature is the omission of the glottal stop, following a pernicious practice of earlier missionaries in Polynesia, so that it is impossible for the newcomer to the language to pronounce it acceptably from these texts. In the Dictionary, of course the glottal stops are inserted, and they are used wherever necessary in this grammar as well.

2) The syllable structure of Arosi is simple: no syllable can end in a consonant. The only two types possible therefore are /V/ and /CV/, where V represents any vowel and C any consonant. the syllable may be either long or short, e.g.

- V: o/a/ni, *thus* (quotation)
- CV: ta/ro/ha, *news*
- VV: aa/mi/a, *disturbed*; a/daau, *their(s)*.

The last example raises the theoretical question of the occurrence of diphthongs in Arosi, and this cannot be investigated in a short grammar of the present type. The correctness of accepting such as presumed here, with the addition that the first element may be long as in *adaau* above (/a'da:u/).

B. Arosi Stress

A satisfactory treatment of the phenomena of stress and intonation in Arosi awaits further study. In the present account only certain obvious points can be discussed, in the absence of the necessary acoustic and other detailed analyses.

Two types of stress would seem to require separate treatment - word stress and sentence stress. The latter involves analysis of the system of breath groups etc. which has not yet been done.

1. Stress

(a) Word-stress

In Arosi word stress can be fairly strong. Stress on a word of one syllable depends on whether it is a particle, carrying only grammatical meaning, or a word of another category, such as noun or verb, which carries a lexical meaning. Detailed analysis of vocabulary is not undertaken here; in the case of such a word as *boi*, *come* - presuming this can be satisfactorily analysed as a monosyllable with a diphthongal crest - it will normally carry a stress: 'iia a 'boi, *he came*. Such words are rare. While no statistical analysis of the vocabulary has been carried out, it would seem that lexical items of the kind now being discussed are a rarity. Most of these classes of words are at least disyllabic or longer. This means that at least two grades of stress need to be thought of: strong stress, marked by an upright stroke *before* the stressed syllable (e.g. 'ome, *see*) and weak stress, marked by a similar upright stroke but slightly lower than the line of type: (e.g. ,rongoi'suri, *learner, disciple*).

In a word of two syllables, the stress is usually on the first: 'dangi, *a day*; 'ina, *mother*.

In words of three syllables, stress is not fully predictable. E.g. 'mwaeraha, *a chief* carries a first-syllable stress. It is probably that the word is a latent compound of a root *mwa*e, which occurs free in Malaita languages as *man*, *person*, and *raha*, in Arosi *great*. The word 'arosi itself provides another example of a first syllable stress.

Reduplicated words carry two accents, one weak and the other strong: ,mae'mae, *disease*; ,kono'kono, *throat*; ,hini'hini, *believe*. If a suffix is added to such a word, e.g. ,hini'hini-a, *believe (something)*, this may leave the stress unchanged: the subject of enclitics of this sort is treated below.

Enclitics are words - usually with lexical meanings - that carry no accent of their own but 'lean back' on the word preceding them, to which they refer. The final -a in the example preceding is one of these, though this, as a transitive suffix, carries grammatical rather than lexical meaning. One that carries a lexical meaning is the deictic ni, *this*: na 'noni, *the man* > na no'ni-na, *this man*; na he'reho, *thing* > na here'hosi, *that thing*. Here the completely unstressed na might be treated perhaps as a 'leaning forward' or 'proclitic' element, but this is not necessary. The following deictic, however, draws the stress of the noun syllable forward. Not all such added elements do this: possessive suffixes as a rule do not. A separate possessive may do so: tahi, *life*, is stressed as 'tahi, but na tahi ana, *his life*, becomes a stress group as na,tahi'ana. This is one of the points which call for further study. A similar stress group grows out of na rumana si, *that house of his*, stressed as na,ruma'nas(i). Very often a vowel in the final position becomes unvoiced or whispered: hence the bracketing in the above example. Further, an adverbial link may produce a stress group such as na huta ahoia, *was born again*, becoming na,hutaa'hoya.

The status of doubled vowels needs further investigation from the phonetic viewpoint, as does their origin from the historical viewpoint.

(b) Phrase and Sentence Stress

The examples immediately preceding lead on to consideration of stress patterns that go beyond the single word or grammatically linked group. Here again further study is needed, and in any case an adequate treatment would go beyond the limits of the present grammatical sketch. A diminished word stress is often noticeable on the clause level, full stress being retained for a semantically important word or phrase, e.g. na noni ni mwaeraha, *the chief's man* will be stressed as na,nonini'-mwaeraha. Stress on the first noun is diminished, because what is really important is not that he is a man, but that he is a chief's retainer.

C. Arosi Intonation

Like stress, intonation requires further research, and only guide outlines can be given here. Tone as such is not phonemic, i.e. it is not inherent in a word and does not affect meaning. As in English and the majority of European languages, tone is a function of the clause or sentence and its value is emotional rather than semantic.

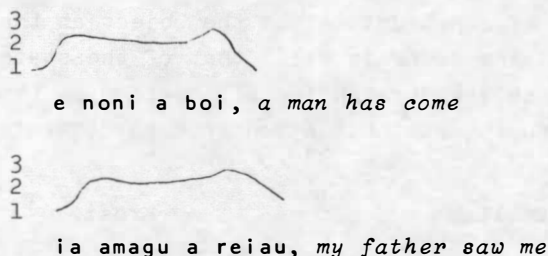
Three basic tone levels can be recognised, numbered 1 to 3 from low to higher.

Tone 1 is a starting and finishing tone; tone 2 is a fairly level, continuous tone in which most of a normal declaratory utterance is produced. Tone 3 occurs chiefly just before the ending of an utterance of a declaratory kind, or on the final syllable of a question. More rarely a fourth tone may be heard, higher than tone 3, and confined to an exclamation of surprise or indignation.

In the diagrams following, continuous lines will be used to show the general direction of speech. Correct apportionment of individual tones between 1 and 4 in each part of the utterance would need further study, and moreover this would vary somewhat from speaker to speaker.

There are three chief intonation patterns which stand out in the language.

Pattern 1. A gradual rise from tone 1 to tone 2 at the beginning of the utterance, followed by a rise to 3 on the final accented syllable before the end of the utterance, and then dropping back to 1 at the close of the utterance. Examples:

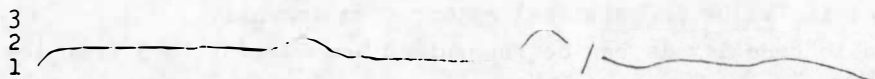


Pattern 2. Similar to pattern 1, but not returning to tone 3. This is a non-final pattern, and belongs to a clause which is not a complete sentence; it must be followed by another clause of type 1 or 3. There may be a sequence of pattern 2 clauses in a sentence containing a series of dependent clauses. A simple example is seen in the following.



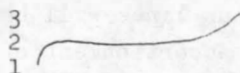
oha ia amagu na boi, / iia na reiau, *when my father came, he saw me.*

Or a sentence taken from a recorded sermon by a native speaker.



na tahi ana marewa'nani 'ai'a taisada / 'inia ia God a maea
A life of this world is not enough, because God is holy.

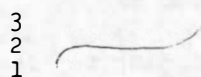



Pattern 3 ends on tone 3, but is otherwise the same as pattern 1. It is the tone normally used for asking questions, and its importance lies in the syntactic fact that Arosi has no formal distinction between a statement and a question: intonation must be relied on. Thus:



e noni a boi? *has a man come?*

as contrasted with the first given above for pattern 1.

If the question asked involves a question word such as *who?* or *what?* there are modifications of pattern 3. In English these question words take the head position in the sentence whether they are subjects or objects. In Arosi they take it only if they are subjects, but if they are objects they do not change from the normal object position at the end of the utterance. In English the question form is *what did you see?* with a change of construction and the object at the head of the question. In Arosi the order is still that of the statement: *you saw what?*, and consequently understanding will depend on the presence of the question pattern intonation. A contrast may therefore be exhibited thus:

English	Arosi
 <i>who has come?</i>	 <i>iatei a boi no'a?</i>
 <i>whom did you see?</i>	 <i>'o omesia iatei?</i>



Although far from complete, these brief sections will provide a guide to the intonation patterns of the language.

PART 2

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF AROSI

2.1.0 PRELIMINARY

Human speech rests on utterances as a unit rather than on individual "words". This fact suggests that the clearest treatment of a language should begin with connected utterances rather than with formal or paradigmatic grammar, once the sound system has been analysed. In many cases the more strictly grammatical elements may be studied *pari passu* with the various types of utterance. This course is pursued in the present brief analysis of the Arosi language.

Certain terms must first be defined:

1. An **utterance** is any stretch of speech, long or short - from a single word to a complete lecture.
2. A **sentence** is an utterance having internal but no external grammatical relationships.
3. A **discourse** is an utterance of greater length than the single sentence, uttered by a single speaker, usually concerning a single subject. A discourse may be subdivided into sections commonly referred to as paragraphs or sections. In many languages there is a syntax of the discourse as well as, and sometimes differing from, the syntax of the sentence.

The sentence as defined above, may be divided into two types - major and minor sentences. A major sentence contains a predicate, consisting of at least a single verbal form. A minor sentence does not contain a predicate. It is convenient to discuss the minor sentence first.

2.1.1 THE AROSI SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The two types of sentences as they occur in Arosi repeat the general pattern just referred to. Minor sentences include what K.L. Pike

referred to as non-sentence-forming units. These may be single words, such as the equivalents of *yes* and *no*, or of interjections, or short replies to questions that presuppose a fuller form preceding, e.g. in English, if the question that has been asked was *Has he come?*, the reply may be *Yes*, or lengthened to *Yes, he has*. The latter is a two-part minor sentence, since *he has* is only part of a full reply, *he has come*, and quite different from *he has* in the sense of *he possesses*.

Major sentences exhibit three types, each sharing with the others a predicate which contains a verb phrase of some sort. In Arosi *ia reia na* (with stress on *re-*), *he has seen it*, consists of *ia*, *he* (or *she*) - a substitute for some noun or noun phrase; *reia*, *see (it)*, a verbal phrase, and *na*, a sign of completed action. Such an utterance is therefore diagrammatically

NP + VP

ia *rei-a-na*

he *see-it* + completion

Sentences containing one such (NP + VP) construction are referred to as 'simple' sentences. If two or more such constructions occur in immediate sequence, linked by the equivalents of *and*, *but* or *or*, they form a 'compound' sentence. If a second or further statement is made, subordinated to the main statement, as in *I saw him WHEN HE HAD COME*, the construction is called a 'complex' sentence.

The subtypes of sentences to be treated here are thus:

A. Minor sentences

- B. Major sentences:
- i. simple
 - ii. compound
 - iii. complex

In B, a further subgroup is found in English in the shape of embedded elements such as *who* in *the man WHO CAME YESTERDAY is sick to-day*. These form a special type of complex sentence which has a quite different form in Arosi from that of English.

Each of these types will now be treated in sequence.

A. Minor Sentences

Arosi has more types of minor sentences than English, owing to the absence of an equivalent in Arosi to the English verb *to be*. In Arosi therefore minor sentences are divisible into three sub-types:

- i. Interjections; ii. Yes-no sentences; iii. Equational and descriptive sentences.

i. Interjections

Sometimes these interjections can be used in other categories, because they are historically verbs or nouns: as a verb, *are* is *to be astonished*, from which regular derivations produce *areha*, *astonishment*; *aresi*, *be astonished at*.

As an appellative, the 2nd person pronoun is used, with or without the addition of *-na*: *'oe!* *You there!*; *'oena* *You there! Friend*. See dictionary under *'ae* and *'oe*.

A Wango text exemplifies others, e.g. *ai!* *kakarewa*, *kokone mwatage*, *wauramoru!* *Hi, take care, just look, brothers!*

ii. Yes-no sentences

The equivalents in Arosi are *io*, *yes*, and *'ai'a*, *no*, as in *'o tauaro?* *io!* *Are you working? Yes!* These two words are used as complete utterances, as in English, or the full sentence may be repeated:

ia amamu a hano? 'Ai'a, ia 'ai'a hano
he father-you went, No, he not go
"Did your father go? No he didn't go."

Perhaps also the interjections *kaia*, *I don't know*, and *bwaia*, *I don't understand* may be mentioned here as well.

iii. Equational and Descriptive sentences

The absence of any equivalent to a verb *to be* from Arosi creates a particular type of minor sentence which has no parallel in most European languages. Thus:

Inau ni, I (am) here.
iia naihei? Kaia! Where is he? I don't know.
naani i mwaeraha adauu, This is their chief.
e taha naani? bwaa, What is this? A taro.
iatei a inamu, Who is your mother?

The above are equative sentences, as though a model *A = B* were being followed: e.g. *he is my father* consists of two parts, *he* and *my father*, which are equivalent to each other: *he = my father*. In such cases Arosi has no verbal phrase, and the *A = B* utterance is a type of minor sentence known as equative:

iia = amagu, he = father-my.

In some languages in which this type of equative sentence is found, the descriptive sentence as in *he is old*, *the house is large*, may contain a verbal component and so be distinct from equative sentences.

In Arosi a descriptive sentence varies from the equative in one point only: a link replaces the gap indicated by the "equals" sign above, and that link consists of a "subject marker" which occurs in the same place in a major sentence. This marker has been traditionally referred to in Oceanic linguistics as a "verbal pronoun", but the title used here seems preferable. While it is perhaps possible to say that in such a sentence as *i'oe 'o gere mwane*, *you are a young man*, or *raru raru wari no'a*, *they-two were now old*, the adjectival elements *young* and *old* are verbalised, and that therefore the sentences *are* major sentences, it seems preferable to maintain a difference between the two types, because in an example such as *iia e noni ni Heuru*, *he is a man of Heuru*, it would be necessary to regard *noni*, *man* as being verbalised, thus adding a quite unnecessary complication to the grammar. The subject marker precedes all verbal forms, it is true, but to verbalise an expression as *i'ameu e noni tauaro*, *we are workmen* is not justified in a language in which the distinction between noun and verb as speech categories rests on the particles that can be used before each.

The full forms of the subject markers (which vary for tense) are given below (§C.1.i(b)); for the present the following examples will illustrate the descriptive sentence in this language:

Inau au wari, *I am old*
i'oe 'o gere mwane, *(you are) a young man*
iia a wari, *he (or she) is old*
ia urao a amara, *the woman is barren*
ia ai mwaeraha, *he will be great*
na atana na maea, *his name is holy*
na 'aungagu a totou, *my mind is troubled*
na hasi'ona na maemae'a, *his body is weak*
i bara na raha, *the gateway is wide*

The subject markers (abbreviated as SM) are *a*, *na*, *'o* (2nd person), *au* (1st person), *e* (noun-marker (NM)), and *ai* (3rd person sing., future) in the above examples.

Possessive sentences may sometimes be expressed in Arosi by means of

a descriptive minor sentence, e.g. *tanei e rua gere ana*, *a-certain-man SM two son his*, i.e. *a certain man had two sons*. There are several other ways of expressing possession, which are treated below in §C.2.2.(ii).

B. Major Sentence Types

The major sentence types in Arosi are neither numerous nor complicated. They are the following, each consisting of a noun-phrase (NP) and a verbal phrase (VP) joined (+), but the phrases are developed differently in each type. The symbol used to indicate the sentence is $S \rightarrow NP + VP$, which is to be read as "rewrite sentence as noun phrase plus verb phrase". The ways in which this may be done in Arosi are:

1. $S \rightarrow NP + VP$: *e noni a boi*, *a man came*

With expansions of NP: *e noni tewa ni Heuru a boi*, *a tall Heuru man came*, or expansions of VP: *iaa ni a boi beiau no'ai rodo* *he came to me by night*, and with both expansions combined: *e noni tewa ni Heuru a boi beiau no'ai rodo*, *a tall Heuru man came to me by night*. In the last case the order of elements is:

$+S + V \pm L \pm T$,

the additional elements being $L = \text{location}$ and $T = \text{time}$.

2. $S \rightarrow NP_1 + VP + NP_2$: *e noni a rongoa i aoha na mawa*, *a man heard the sound of the wind*

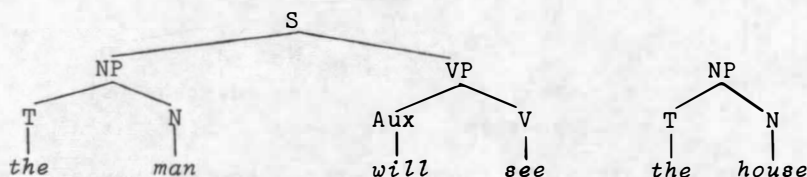
Here two NP's occur, one as subject and the other as object in a transitive sentence. Expansions of various kinds are possible; one such is *mwani noni nai rongoa i aohana ma ra 'ai'a 'irara i dora na uhi mai i'ei*, *the men will hear its sound and not know where it came from*. In this case also an extra clause has been added. The order of elements in an expanded sentence of this kind is

$+S + V + O \pm L \pm T \pm R$

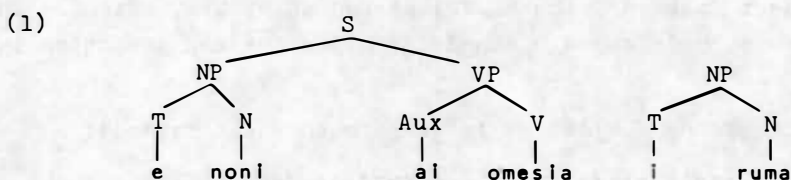
i.e. obligatory subject, verb and object, optional location, time and reason: others also could have been added, and these will be discussed later (§C.2.4.) under the general heading of 'modifiers of VP'.

A useful method of analysing these sentence types is found in 'constituent structure' grammar. In an English sentence such as *the man will see the house*, there are present a number of constituent phrases. These are a NP (*the man*) and a VP (*will see the house*) the latter breaking down into a V (*will see*) and a N (*the house*). The NP

in each case consists of two elements, an 'article' (*the*) and a noun: the former is symbolised by T (for *t-he*). The verb consists of a verb (*see*) and an auxiliary (Aux: *will*). Each branching point in the re-writing of S is called a 'node', from which other elements may in turn be separated out. Thus:



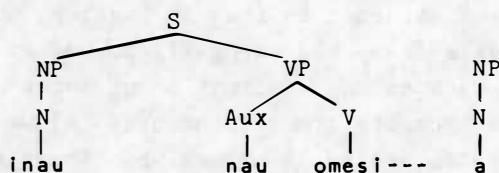
In Arosi the picture is:



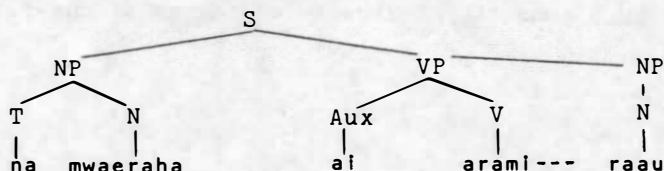
There are in this differences from the English that will be shown later, e.g. variation between *e* and *i* as articles. At this stage the verb *omesia* is not fully analysed: the root is *ome-*, *-si* indicates that it is transitive, and *-a* is an 'anticipatory object' which varies according to circumstances. At the moment the compound may be treated as a unit.

A few further examples of the various subtypes of the Arosi simple sentence will clarify the method of analysis by constituent structures.

(2) *Inau nau omesia, I see him*

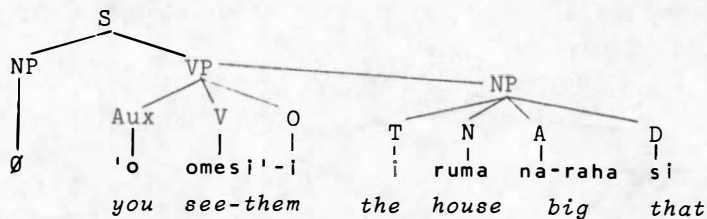


(3) Expansion of NP: *na mwaeraha ai aramiraau, the chief will answer them.*



- (4) Expansion of the NP₂ (object noun phrase):

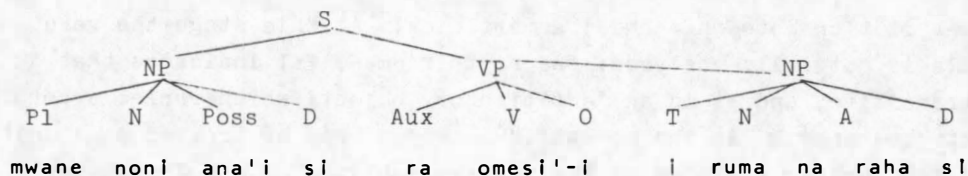
'o omesi'i i ruma na raha si, *you see those big houses.*



Here there is no initial NP, so the symbol zero (Ø) appears in its place. The plurality of *house* is marked by the suffix -'i which therefore is an anticipatory object (marked O in the VP) picked up by NP₂, which is the true object. The symbols A and D stand for adjective and demonstrative respectively.

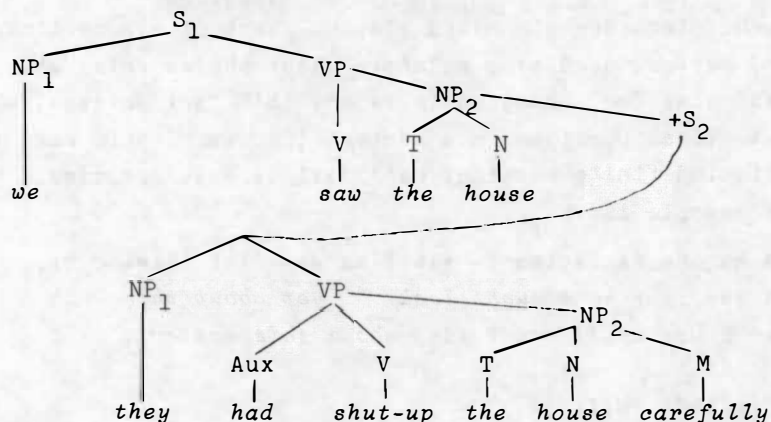
- (5) Expansion of the subject NP is seen in the next example:

mwane noni ana'i si ra omesi'i i ruma na raha si,
those three men of his see that big house.



Complex sentences have already been defined as those containing more than one verbal form, the first in the main clause, the other or others in dependent clauses attached to it. In English, such a sentence as *we saw the house which they had carefully locked up* contains two clauses, and may be traced back to the combination of two separate underlying statements, each a separate simple sentence: (a) *we saw the house* and (b) *they had carefully locked the house up*. These are then conjoined by deleting the second occurrence of *the house* and replacing it by *which*, one of a number of 'WH-words' used for such purposes. The process of doing this is called 'embedding'. The English form of it might be represented by a constituent structure diagram of the following nature:

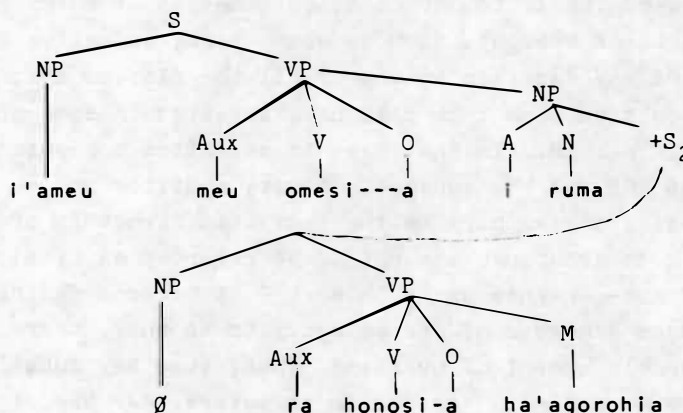
(6)



where the symbol M represents 'modifier of the VP', of which there are several kinds (§). The NP₂ of the second clause (+S₂) is replaced by *which* and *which* is by a further rule transferred to the head of the clause, giving the final English form of the sentence.*

The Arosi equivalent to these complex sentences falls similarly into two parts, but in this language the parts frequently have no grammatical link with each other. The above example is:

(7) i'ameu meu omesia i ruma ra honosia ha'agorohia



Arosi structure is more closely akin to that form of the English relative sentence which omits *which*, but there is a relative in Arosi (§C.2.2.ii). Other examples will be given in the relevant section.

* For details of these processes in English, here somewhat abbreviated, see Owen Thomas, *Transformational Grammar and the Teacher of English*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. 1967, pp.92ff. or the more elaborate Emmon Bach, *An Introduction to Transformational Grammars*, same publishers, 1964.

Such embeddings are signalled also by a set of clause links such as *oha*, *time*, *period*, used as a relative *when*: *oha au reia*, *when I saw it* and *ta oha*, *sometime*, *when*, as in *ta oha 'o'i 'ari 'o daua*, *when you go, get it*. In final position in a sentence, however, this word *ta oha* retains its indefinite meaning: *wa'i 'ari ta oha*, *sometime I will go*. A further example is:

... *ma na oha na 'adoma'i sibasiba mau 'ini hereho ni*,
and the time he thought look yet about thing this
'while he was still meditating about this matter'.

C. SUB-SENTENCE UNITS

C.0 Introductory: Parts of Speech

Something needs to be said about 'parts of speech' in Arosi because the groupings of words in a language has been such a normal proceeding that it cannot be avoided, even though in a given case it may be less appropriate - and English is one of the given cases, in which the traditional grouping of words into a certain number of parts of speech is now realised to be unsatisfactory from many points of view.

Like the bulk of languages classified along with it as "Melanesian", Arosi does not lend itself to strict classification of words into the traditional 'parts of speech', such as noun, verb, adjective etc. One and the same word may function in any or all the classes according to its syntactic position, and this will have appeared in some of the examples given in part B. In that part it was often convenient to divide an utterance into NP and VP, subject, object, modifier and so on because such groupings play a real part in the syntactic structure of the language. Yet such groupings are not to be regarded as final, and when in the study of sub-sentence units in part C it becomes desirable to classify a word as a member of one category or another, there turns out to be a considerable amount of overlap. Thus, *susu* may function as a noun in the environment *na...-na*, as in *na susuna*, *her breast* but as a verb in the environment *a...* (3rd person singular marker), in *e gare a susu*, *the child sucked the breast*. Similarly, *aru* may be either *a land breeze* or *to blow cold* according to its environment. Still more outstanding is the example *anga*, *bag*, in e.g. *na anga ana*, *his bag*, but as a verb in *ia a anga i hua*, *he has betelnut in his bag*: here there is no direct English equivalent, for the colloquial English *he bagged it* is different again; reduplicated, *angaanga* is *to have a bag* and so *to be rich* (because having enough possessions to be worth having a bag for),

and *sae angaanga i ha'a* is a *rich man*, and by an extension not obvious to Western minds, a *married man*. It is therefore necessary to discard Western patterns in classifying Arosi words into grammatical classes.

Arosi words are thus rather similar to those of English in regard to isolability and classification. In English, for example *love* may function as either a noun or a verb, appearing in the environment *his...* or *he... -s* (in *he loves*). In a majority of instances, perhaps, such ambivalence does not occur in English; but its occurrence in a language like Arosi is much greater, as the above examples have shown. In English, such a word as *thousand* can never appear in a verbal frame; in Arosi, however, very many words can appear in frames which are either nominal or verbal. The limits are ultimately semantic, not grammatical. It is advisable, therefore, to avoid classing Arosi isolates into rigid classes to be labelled 'parts of speech'. The unit for grammatical analysis in this language is therefore the phrase rather than the isolate, because the phrase supplies the necessary environmental frame of reference. Consequently part C has been headed "sub-sentence units" i.e. phrase structures, rather than 'morphology'. Actual inflectional forms do occur, but they are very limited in number, even more so than in some other 'Melanesian' languages.

In the treatment of these sub-sentence units, it has proved best to treat the verb phrase before the noun phrase, because the verb can give rise to nominalisations, while the noun does not produce verbalisations. The following section therefore introduces the details of the verb phrase.

C.1. The Verb Phrase

(i) Verb Roots and Derivatives

The verb root in its simple form is neither transitive nor intransitive, but neutral. Any affix added to the root form changes its basic meaning in some way. Words such as *ha'ate*, *speak*, *'ari*, *go*, *wete run quickly* exemplify this simple or root form, and such forms occur freely in sentences: *'o bwa'i ha'ate tanaa*, *you are not to speak to him*; *'o'i wete suria*, *run-quickly after him*. Various suffixes as well as prefixes may be added to the root form, e.g. *wetehi-*, *go quickly to (a place)*; the prefix of causation *ha'a-* produces *ha'awete*, *cause to run quickly*, and in combination with the suffix, *ha'a-wete-hi-*, *cause to run quickly to...* From *'ari*, *go*, may be formed *'aringa'i*, *walk with...*, *'arita'i*, *go away from*, *ha'a'ari*, *send for*, *ha'a'arihi-*, *send off*, *bid farewell to*.

These examples show that a verb used other than intransitively carries a marker to indicate that it has an object, i.e. that it is transitive: e.g. *ome-*, *look, see* > *ome-si-*, *look at, see (someone or something)*. The actual form of the suffix has to be learned empirically, it cannot be predicted. For the forms of the transitive suffix see below (§C.1.iii). To the transitive suffix must be added an anticipatory object, as though one said in English *I SEE him the man*: Arosi *au omesi-a i noni*. Here *-a* is the anticipatory object of the 3rd person singular, as seen in earlier examples. If the object is a pronoun it is added immediately to the verb and no other is needed, e.g. *au omesi-'o*, *I see you*.

In addition to verbal forms as such, descriptives or adjectives in Arosi are basically verbal in nature, as appeared in an earlier section in the discussion of Minor Sentences (Part 2 §1(iii)). Such words therefore form in this language a sub-class of the verbs, and they can be turned into qualifying adjectives by a simple transformation labelled *T_{adj}* (§C.2.2.(i)). In English adjectives are often treated as a sub-class of the noun, but in Arosi they fit better into the verbal class.

Further, not all verbs can be followed by any given preposition or relator - as in English one may say *look for*, with a different meaning from the simple *look* or the compound *look at*; or *he heard a noise* but not *he listened a noise*. Transitive verbs are therefore divisible into a considerable number of sub-classes, both in English and in Arosi. The full range of these sub-classes cannot be set out in detail in a condensed grammatical introduction such as the present.

The sub-groups of Arosi verbs that need to be distinguished in the present connection are expressed in a "re-write" form as follows:

V→	V _i	(verb intransitive, e.g. 'ari, go)
	V _t	(verb with transitive suffix, e.g. ome-si, see)
	V _{t2...n}	(verbs with special constructions of various kinds).
	.	
	.	
	V _{adj}	(verb that can be transformed to act as a descriptive)
	V _{cs}	(causative verb, prefixing ha'a-)
	V _r	(reciprocal verb, e.g. hei-ngahu-i, strike each other)
	V _{st}	(stative verb, showing condition, e.g. ma-kari, torn)
	V _{nom}	(verb transformed into a noun, e.g. taro, tell news > taro-ha, news)

Each of these groups will be discussed in succession; but before this is done, it is convenient to set out the elements of VP that occur regularly in all constructions involving a verbal phrase of any kind at all, such as the markers of tense. The fundamental fact to remember in Arosi as in most Melanesian languages is that a verb cannot occur isolated or unsupported in an utterance. If *inau* = *I* and *'ari* = *go*, it is not possible to say *inau 'ari* = *I go*. There must be an indicator of person, number and time that links the actor *inau* to the action *'ari*: in this case *nau*, so that the utterance becomes *inau nau 'ari*, *I go*. The part that can be omitted is the actor, *inau*, unless the utterance is emphatic, *I am going*, (*no matter what you do*). Formally, the bulk of these 'links' are short forms of the pronouns, and these have generally been referred to as 'verbal pronouns' in traditional Melanesian grammars. Not always, however, are they short forms of a pronoun, and the term 'subject marker' (abbreviated to *sm*) is used here for them.

In the normal daily speech no verb appears without a subject marker. A third person form such as *he or she goes* would be expressed as *ia a 'ari*, and in this case the pronoun *ia* (3rd person singular) may not be omitted. If the subject is a noun the *sm* must still appear: *e inoni a 'ari*, *the man goes*; *e gari a 'ari*, *the child goes*. The New Guinea Pidgin usage of *man i go*, *pikinini i go*, reflects this rule. In some Melanesian languages the *sm* may be omitted if an order is being given to one person, but not so in Arosi: *'o'i 'ari, go!*, *You must go*. No predicate can therefore stand without a preceding *sm*, and it is doubtful whether in analysis the *sm* should be reckoned as part of the subject or of the predicate.

The Arosi verbal phrase thus involves three features:

1. It must begin with a subject marker (*sm*)
2. The *sm* consists of a morpheme for which it is convenient to retain the name 'short pronoun', and of these there are two kinds:
 - (a) *sm*₁, marking the action as non-future (NF)
 - (b) *sm*₂, marking the action as future.
3. After the verb may follow an aspect marker.

Examples of (1) have appeared in all major sentences used hitherto, and are seen in others such as

iameu meu 'ari
 actor *sm* action
we (we) went (or go)

Examples of (2) are shown as follows:

a. short pronoun (a) as in the preceding example, where *meu* represents, is sm form for, *iameu*, *we*.

b. short pronoun (b) *nau* *na'i* *'ari*
 I *I-shall* *go*
 'I shall go'.

Examples of (3):

- i. *iameu meu omesia* *no'a*
 we (we) see-him already
 'we have seen him already'.
 - ii. *iameu meu omesia* *mau*
 we (we) see-him still
 'we can still see him'.
- iameu meu 'ai'a omesia* *mau*
 we (we) not see-him still
 'we have not seen him yet'.

Details of each of these forms follow below.

a. Short Pronouns

These consist of an abbreviated form of the cardinal pronouns listed below (§C.2.3(i)). They mark the person of the actor in the *three* numbers which the language recognises - singular, dual and plural, for Arosi marks two people as actors or goal separately from the general plural of English. In the non-singular 1st person there is a further distinction between a form which includes the person addressed and one which excludes him. Thus, *igia ga'i 'ari*, *we (all) will go*, but *iameu me'i 'ari* *we (but not you) will go*.

The formula for the person indicating auxiliaries is thus:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Aux} &\rightarrow p + t \\ t &\rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{NF} \\ \text{F} \end{bmatrix} \\ p &\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{matrix} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{sing.} \\ \text{dual} \\ \text{plur.} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{aligned}$$

where *p* = person, *t* = tense; NF = non-future (i.e. present or past); F = future. Square brackets indicate that one alternative only may be used at a time, i.e. NF or F but naturally not both; braces indicate that one of each set combines with one of the other at a time, e.g. 1st singular, 2nd singular etc.

b. Tense System of Arosi

Melanesian languages do not specify the time of action exactly as do European languages. In Arosi the principle on which the verbal system words differs from that of English. It distinguishes between time of action (tense) and state of action (aspect), and provides also for sequence of more than one action. The following diagram shows the system:

	Indefinite	Past	Future
Time	+	+	+
Aspect	+	+	-
Sequence	+	-	+

Plus signs indicate the presence, minus signs the absence of a given form.

Time may be considered first. The tense marked 'indefinite' is relatively free of time; it contrast only with future action. It may refer to an action (or a state) which is present or was present. It merely asserts the event or condition, and may answer to either present or past forms in English, e.g. *na gere gare a angi*, *the little boy is crying* or *the little boy cried*, depending on the context of situation. If a definitely past event has to be marked as such, this can be done only in the 3rd person singular and plural, by preposing *na* before the general particle. The first person *au* may become *nau*, but this may occur also in the indefinite tense. The third person plural becomes *nara* (for *na ra* < *na rau*). Codrington gave a second person singular *na'o* for Wango, but that does not seem to occur in Arosi.

Once the time of the action is made clear, the indefinite marker is sufficient (unless the sequence marker *gu* is used): *ila na omesia i dao ana mwane ma (= mata) 'irara a bwani oasi no'a, ma gu ha'ate tanaa oani*, *he saw the man's sickness and knew that he had been long so and said to him...* Here *na* fixes the action in the past; the next clause therefore may have *a* instead of *na*, while the third shows a sequence of action, and uses *gu* to indicate the fact that this action followed on as a result of the other two.

Future time may be expressed in two ways: (i) by means of a special set of markers, terminating in *-i*. The first person singular *wai* is irregular and looks like a metathesis for *au-i*, as Codrington earlier suggested. In all other cases the *-i* is added to the indefinite forms: *'o-i*, *a-i*, *muu-i*, etc. (ii) by the use of the verb *'ari*, with

indefinite particles, very much like the English use of *I'm going to...* There is a double use of 'ari, however, in that it can also mean *go on, continue*. Codrington's Wango example, corrected slightly, can be used: *na wai a 'ari bubu, the water goes on trickling*. However, it is quite good Arosi to say *inau au 'ari omesia, I am going to see him*, in all its English senses. In such cases 'ari becomes an auxiliary verb and particles are not always used with it before the second verb: *wai 'ari ha'ata-hia, I shall go and heal him*. Future markers are also used to express a wish: in the Book of Common Prayer, *The Lord be with you* is translated:

ia Araha al o'a bei-amou.
the Lord 3sg.F. stay with-you

The second feature to consider is aspect. The term 'aspect' refers to the state of the action - is it complete or not: + mau indicates incompleteness, *still*; no'a indicates completion, *already*: *ila a angi mau, he is (still) crying*; *ila na angi no'a, he cried* but it is now all over; *a taha no'a, he has arrived* and is present; *nara aidangi no'a, they have learnt* and now know.

The third feature is sequence. The sequence particles answer more or less to English *and* or *and then*, and signifies that the second action follows immediately or as a result of the other. Thus *nau omesia ma gu ha'ate tanaa, I saw him and spoke to him*; *ila na boi ma na gu wateau i hereho, he came and gave me the thing*. The sequences marker may take the -i of future time: *gui: rai omesia ma ra gui wa'ewa'e, they will see him and rejoice*. It may also answer to *likely to, was to happen*: *ila a 'irara'i mwani hereho rau gu to'o'ia, he knew the things that were to come upon him* (John 18:4). In the 1st singular, *wai, I shall* loses its ending, which is transferred to *gu: wa gui 'adoma'i, I shall then think* (Mt. 18:21). In the 3rd singular however there is double indication of futurity: *ai gui, and he will*. The time phrase *ai gui tari, until* illustrates this.

The table below summarises the tense-aspect particles in Arosi.

No. and Pers.		Time			Aspect		Sequence	
		Indef.	Past	Future	Indef.	Past	Indef.	Future
Sing.	1	(n)au	nau	wai	mau, gau	no'a, nau	gu	gui
	2	'o	'o	'oi				
	3	a	na	(n)ai				
Dual	1 (incl)	gari		gar ii				
	1 (excl)	miri		mir ii				
	2	muru		mur ui				
	3	raru		rar ui				
Plur.	1 (incl)	gaau,gau		gai				
	1 (excl)	mi,meu		mei				
	2	mou		moi				
	3	rau,ra	na ra	rai				

c. Negation

The negative particles in Arosi are 'ai'a, abu, abwa'i, and bwa'i.

The first, 'ai'a, is a general negative and may be used with a minor sentence as well as with major sentences. It is non-future, i.e. present or past.

Examples:

'oi 'ai'a 'irara, *you don't know.*

'amou mou 'ai'a aidangisia, *you (pl.) don't know (the fact).*

tanei 'ai'a omesia, *nobody has seen him (lit. somebody has not seen him)*

ona 'oi 'ai'a garena, i'oe gasi do'orana? *If you are not his son, perhaps you are his brother?*

inau 'ai'a iia, *I am not he.*

It is also the negative adverb *no: ia* aramiraau, 'Ai'a, *he answered them, No.*

There is a rarer form, *ae:* in the Gospel translation it is used, e.g. in John 1:11: *mana noni rago ana'i ra ae ha'amaotoa, but all his people did not receive him*; and John 1:31: *au ae 'irara mau 'inia, I didn't yet know him.* This form was used in the translation of parts of the Book of Common Prayer published in Wango dialect in 1901, where it is spelled

ai: 'ameu meu ai taisada, *we are not worthy*. These examples are all replaced by 'ai'a in the later Arosi translations of the same passages, and Codrington in his Wango grammar does not mention ai.

Combined with ma'ua, *or*, ma'ua 'ai'a is *or not*: ai taisada gasi beia no'a 'ini tora'ia hako, ma'ua 'ai'a, *whether it will be enough with him that he may complete all or not* (Luke 14:28). Codrington also remarks that 'ai'a as answer may be equivalent to *nothing*, and gives the example taha nai anga si? 'Ai'a, *What is in that bag? Nothing*.

The remaining particles listed all carry aspectual or modal overtones.

'Abu is dehortative or forbidding: abu 'ari, *don't go*. It may be followed by the future marker 'i, and then serves as a negative order or suggestion, like English, *you must not*: 'oi abu'i heingahu, *You must not commit murder*; 'oi abu'i heiberi, *don't steal*.

Abwa'i, bwa'i correspond more closely to the optative or future negative: a bwa'i, *I don't want to, it is impossible for me, I will not*: ia abwa'i 'ari, *he is not to go*; 'oi 'ari? A bwa'i, *Will you go? I can't*. Abwa'i mwadau, *it can't be done*. Sometimes the initial a- is omitted.

C.1.ii. Transitive Suffixes

One of the characteristics of Melanesian languages is the employment of a suffix which serves to link a verb with its object, e.g. au ome, *I see*, but au ome-si-'o, *I see you*; au ome-si-a, *I see him (or her)*. The -a of the third person singular object is retained even if a noun object follows: au ome-si-a i noni, *I see the man*, lit. *I see him the man*; the -a here is an "anticipatory" object. A verb cannot be used without this suffixial link if it has an object - except for a sub-class of verbs which do not take it, though they may be regarded as taking a zero form of it. The phonetic shape of the link must be learned empirically. The suffix or link is referred to as a "transitive suffix".

Transitive suffixes are of two kinds, consisting either of one syllable or of two. The monosyllabic form points to a direct object, e.g. ome-si-, *see (something)*. The disyllabic form points to a remote object, e.g. an instrument, such as *THROWING (at something) WITH (a weapon)*, or *climbing (somewhere) with (something in one's hand)*. The remoter object carries a suffix of two syllables.

The two sets of suffixes are related formally: baba-ngi-, *throw at*, baba-nga'i, *throw with (instrument)*. The direct object terminates in i preceded by a consonant, but the consonant requisite in any given case cannot be predicted but must be learned by observation. The

remoter transitive suffix may or may not use the same consonant but changes the vowel to -a- and adds a further -'ini- to it: huro-, *turn (oneself)*; huro-si, *turn (something round)*; huro-ha'ini-, *turn (something) with an instrument*.

Any consonant except the labialised series may precede the -i of the transitive suffix. A few examples here will suffice; in the dictionary the transitive forms of each verb are given as part of the entry.

-h-: oro, *swim*: oro-hi-, *swim to (a place)*

-m-: anu, *bury*: anumi-, *bury something*

-n-: bubu, *paint*: bubu-ni-, *paint something*

-r-: sina, *sun (noun)*: ha'asina-ri-, *put in the sun to dry (causative verb, to sun)*

-s-: ome-, *see, look*: ome-si-, *see something*.

The absence of -t- is due to the fact that this consonant cannot be followed by -i-; the -si- form would result.

The pronoun object is written as a suffix rather than as a separate form: au omesia, au omesi'o, etc. This usage is based on the phrasal stress, as no change of stress results from adding the pronoun object to the verb phrase.

R.H. Codrington (*Melanesian Languages*, p.508) gives the following series among his examples:

1. gawa, *come loose*: 'aro a gawa, *the line has come loose* > gawasi-, *loosen*: iatei na gawasia, *who undid it?*
2. mae, *die*: e gare a mae na, *the child has died* > maesi-, *die of*: a maesia e taha? *What did he die of?*

In some cases more than one suffix can be used with the one verb, e.g. awanga-, *open up* gives either awanga-hi-a, awanga-ri-a or awanga-si-a. The last participle *opened*, but usually in the transitive form awanga-hi-, *open* but awanga-ri- in the sense of *uncover*. In other cases the transitive form changes the meaning of the root: ahi-si, *pile up* but ahu-ni-, *lose sight of*. In these cases it is to be presumed that originally phonetically different roots have coalesced by processes of sound change, and the consonant added to the now homonymic roots restores an original difference. Cases in which the original but now lost consonant of a root is restored in the process of transitivity are known as 'thematic' and the consonant restored is a 'thematic' consonant - it belonged to the original theme.

In certain cases the transitive suffix is removed from the verb stem and added to a following second verb or an adverb:

1. If two verbs are closely connected, forming a phrasal verb, the suffix is added only to the second verb: 'adoma'i-a, *think of it* + nuga-si-a, *let it go* > 'adoma'i nugasia, *dismiss it from the mind*, and in Christian usage this is *forgive*: as in the accepted translation of the Lord's Prayer:

'oi 'adoma'i nugasia ni 'ino-mami ona iami mi 'adoma'i nugasii
you think loose the evil-our as we we think- loose
 no'a ni 'ino-da...
already the evil-their...

2. If an adverb is closely connected in sense with a transitive verb, then the transitive suffix is transferred to the adverb following: kukuha, *cover up* + ha'agoro, *well* > 'oi kuku-ha ha'agoro-hi-a i abe-mu, *cover up your-body well*; na soi-giru-raau, *he called them secretly* > giru-a, *to hide*, soi-, *call*.

The same type of transfer applies to the suffix of remoter transitivity treated in the following paragraph, e.g. abu'i 'adoma'i-ahoi-'ini i 'ino-gu, *don't think again (ahoi) about my sins*.

The remoter transitive suffix consists of an additional syllable 'ini-. The general sense can be given in English by a preposition such as *with*, *from*:

a haruta-nga'i-ni rarau
he paddles-away-with them-two.

A large number of forms are found: -ha'i-, -ma'i-, -ra'i- etc. Thus: nau au taha-nga'i-ni-a i 'ino-gu, *I confess my wrong-doings*; 'o 'ai'a mwagi-ta'i-ni-ami, *you do not despise us*. The suffixes are added to a simple root, and again the initial consonant cannot be predicted: boi, *come* > boi'ini-, *come for something*; taho, *pull* > taho-ra'ini-, *pull out (a plant)*.

There are important functional differences between the two sets of suffixes.

1. The remoter transitive suffixes may be added to intransitive verb roots such as boi, *come* (see above), 'ari, *go*, giving such forms as 'ari-ta'ini-a, *go away from it*; taro, *speak in public*, taro-ha, *news* > taro-ha'ini-a, *speak or preach about it*. Compound verbs (see below) may also take the remoter series: bu-, *tread* + tere, *come down* > bu-tere-ta'ini-a i 'ora, *come down from the ship, disembark*. So also may causatives: ha'a-usuri-nga'ini-, *cause to hand down, teach as a*

tradition. It is also possible to separate the suffix from the verb, using a form 'ini, with: *ra honu-ra'i ta'asua, they were filled with anger*, but: *mou ha'ahonu'i i dara 'ini wai, fill the pots with water*; *rau honu-ra'i 'ini kakoaome, they were filled with indignation.*

2. The suffixes -ha'i and -ta'i may be separated from the stem of the verb by an adverb: *'ari wou ta'ini-a, go away (wou) from it.* In fact, *ta'inia* by itself serves as a sharp command: *away from it!*, and with a further verbal form *ta'ihī-*, *go from, out of sight of* - also *ta'inga'i*; *ta'ira'i-*, *avoid, keep from.*

This second type of suffix could historically result from a combination of the direct object suffixes with the instrumental preposition 'ini-, used in the examples above, e.g. *na ha'a-pwaara 'ini-a i mwani hereho, came-to-happen by-him all things* - here 'inia is still independent. At the same time the extended forms need not always be active: *ia ataro na ha'a-ahoi-ta'i noni, the ghost was turned into (OR became) a man.*

In some cases the longer form is the only one used: *ia a ara-ta'ini-a, he swore (an oath) to him*, but this form may also gain further uses, as in *'inia i arata'inia ana, on account of his oath*, where *arata'inia* becomes functionally a noun, preceded by the article *i* and followed by *ana, his.*

Transitivity in Arosi does not always correspond with transitivity in English. This is particularly the case with verbs of motion, which in English usually are intransitive but in Arosi can assume the suffixes, e.g. *'ari > 'arihi-, make someone go to (a place)*; *hane, climb > hanei-, climb (as a tree)* (this can be done in English also). Examples of this more exceptional kind of transitive will be found in the dictionary.

C.1.iii. Voice in the Arosi Verb

There has been much discussion as to the distinctions of voice in Melanesian languages as a whole, and Arosi is involved in this discussion. The question is not finally settled. The author of the Arosi dictionary has himself written on the subject of passives in Arosi: reference may be made to two articles by C.E. Fox in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*: (i) 'Phonetic Laws in Melanesian Languages', Vol.56, March 1947, pp.58-118; (ii) 'Passives in Oceanic Languages', Vol.57, No.1, March 1948, pp.1-29.

The propositions put forward in the second article are briefly these: (a) The form of the verb: (i) the transitive suffixes may be added to the stem to form participles which are passive in meaning: *anu, bury >*

anumi, *something buried*. This is a true or full passive, but it is a base on which a passive can be developed. (ii) The completive particle na (pp.25-6) may be added to the form with a transitive suffix, as in ia reia na, *he has seen it*. Thence hono-si-na, *closed*, leading to omission of the -n- of na, giving hono-si-a, *as a regular passive participle*. It seems to the present writer that this is less likely than Fox's dictionary entry, '-a, passive participle marker, added directly to the transitive form of the verb. Concerning this form, whatever its origin, Fox states that 'there are many such in Arosi.' However, in his translation of John 20:19 he has written rau honosia no'a i masurunga, *they had shut the doors*, where the original has *the doors were shut*, while in Matthew 25:9, ma gu honosia i mararuma, *and then was shut the door*; in Luke 11:7, na nasurunga a honosia no'a, *the door has been shut*. The reason for this vacillation between a formal active and a passive will be seen in (b) below. At the same time it may be doubted whether the above is a correct analysis of the forms in -ia, ina, i.e. whether -ina > -ia is really acceptable. (iii) The instrument by which an action is performed, such as *killed by an axe*, *killed with a stone*, can be expressed by using 'ini as shown in the preceding section of this grammar. The agent of the action, however, e.g. *killed by his enemies*, cannot be so indicated.

Most of the formations in (i) and (ii) above are not productive, or only within limits; in general the acceptable instances must be learned individually, like the correct transitive endings for the verbs.

(b) Syntactically, there are definite limitations on the use of the passive, both in Arosi and in other Melanesian languages. (i) A stative passive, expressing a condition assumed, may be expressed: a taroha'inia huni iia iai ruma no'a, *it was newsed that he was in the house, the news went abroad that he was in the house*. (ii) The passive form may be used adjectivally: na hereho ini pono-si-a, *this closed up thing, the part that was closed (or is closed)*; ai raua i ha'ate na rarasanga'inia no'ai ahuda, *he will take away the word that was sown in their hearts* (Mark 4:15). (iii) While the instrument of a passive action can be expressed in Arosi, the agent of the action is not so expressed. For (article 2, p.85) says: "In Arosi the native will say that it is not *wrong* to say a honosia na mararuma 'inia iia, *the door was shut by him*, but he does not like it and will not use it."

The answer to the question, "How does one say in Arosi, *he was killed by his enemies*?" is that one uses the active form: *his enemies killed him*, and so highly favoured is this choice that it is far more often

made even when there is no agent expressed at all. *A voice was heard* is rendered by *they heard a voice*: ra rongoa i ringe. Cases such as na 'adoma'i nugasi'i i 'inomu, *your sins are forgiven* rather stand out by way of contrast, and the choice of the passive form here in the Bible translation is no doubt a deliberate reproduction of the Jewish refusal to use the name of God if it could be avoided. This construction, then, stands side by side with a formally similar active: iia a 'adoma'i nugasia i 'ino, *he forgives sin*. The formal difference is the presence of a subject iia which causes the verb to be understood as active.

Other similar examples can be adduced in the translations: rai ha'ahai'au, *they will liken = it will be like* (introducing a parable), e.g. rai ha'ahai'au 'inia i hourana ni aro, *the kingdom of heaven may be likened to...* (Matthew 25:1); ra heiawara, *they cried out = a cry was raised* (Matthew 25:6) - but later in the same passage gu honosia i mararuma, *and the door was shut*.

The complete omission of a verbal particle with a passive form is possible but somewhat uncommon: it appears in the translation of Matthew 3:16: ma bwareomaea no'a a Jesus, ma aratarau baania i wai, *(when) was-washed-holy (= baptised) Jesus, and came out from the water, i aro marawa, the heaven open(ed)*. Even the word-order the last part of this passage is unusual.

C.1.iv. Compounding of Verbal Roots

A feature of Arosi as well as of other Melanesian languages is the ability to put two verb stems together, the second stem alone taking the transitive suffixes, and the first the prefixes such as causative and reciprocals. The compound already used in a number of examples, 'adoma'i nuga-si-a, *forgive < 'adoma'i, think + nuga-si-, set free, loosen* exemplifies this ability to form compounds. It is an important feature in Arosi, more than in some other languages. The compound may then assume prefixes, e.g. ha'a'adoma'i nugasia, *cause him to forget*. The reciprocal ha'i- could theoretically also be used, but the accepted use in this case seems to be more normally 'adoma'i nugasi'i ha'iriu, *to forgive one another*.

As this compounding principle is largely productive in the language, it is rather a matter for the dictionary than for the present brief grammar outline, and only a few specimens will be given. The principle itself is not uncommon in human language: two roots are combined to produce a form in which the sense of element contributes to a resultant that modifies the sense of the first part. Thus, the same root 'adoma'i,

think combines with *siba*, *seek* to produce 'adoma'i sibasiba, *examine* (in the mind): iia na 'adoma'i sibasiba no'ai ahuna, *he thought it over in his mind, he cogitated about it*. Similar compounds are seen in e.g. ome, *see* + sado, *get, have*: ome-sado-i-a, *gain by seeing, look and see*; ome + suri, *after, follow*, producing ome-suri-a, *keep in reserve*.

The following table will show just a few examples of such compoundings:

Second element	Base	Resultant
sado-i-, <i>get, have</i>	siba, <i>seek</i>	siba sadoia, <i>feel for, grope for</i>
	rongo, <i>hear</i>	rongo sadoia, <i>overhear</i>
	'adoma'i, <i>think</i>	'adoma'i sibasiba, <i>examine carefully</i>
bohi, <i>handle</i>	dau, <i>take</i>	dau bohia, <i>touch</i>
ronga-si-, <i>make noise</i>	unu-a, <i>say</i>	ha'aunuarongasia, <i>confess</i>
suri, <i>after, follow</i>	rongo, <i>hear</i>	rongoa suri, <i>obey</i>

The methods of compounding - the position of transitive suffixes in particular - vary in different cases, according to the grammatical nature of the second element, whether it is verbal or not. One special grouping consists of words where the second element is a recognised and independent adverbial adjunct of a verb (see §C.2.4. Relators, *infra*), e.g. ta'e, *up*, which, added to suru'i, *raise*, gives suruta'e, *to arise*.

C.2. The Noun Phrase

Preliminary

The noun phrase in Arosi contains as nucleus a noun (N) which may function as either subject or object of a sentence, or part of a prepositional or conjunctive phrase, and axis phrase (C.2.4.). The noun is defined here as any lexical element which can be preceded by the markers *a*, *e*, *i* or *na*. (The *na* which functions in this instance is homophonous with the *na* that marks the 3rd person singular past tense in a VP (C.1.i(b)). The functions of the noun markers (nm) are detailed in C.2.1.ii(a) below). The Arosi noun is roughly homogeneous with the noun in English but not completely so, and of course, the syntactic markers and conditions differ completely.

Syntactically NP may consist of

$$\pm \text{nm} + \text{N} \pm \text{D} \pm \text{p} \pm \text{d}$$

where nm is 'noun marker'; D is 'demonstrative'; d is 'deictic', (pointing word or demonstrative) and p is 'possessive' which has a rather

complex system of form and function in this language. Numerals form a sub-class of D. Number indicators are a sub-class of noun markers in general. The possessive markers do not always occur in the particular position shown above. The index shows the sections of the grammar where each of these elements of NP is described.

In the NP a principle of balance is observed. The general pattern of the NP may be symbolised as follows:

1. nm + N₁ + sm + VP in intransitive clauses
2. nm + N₁ + sm + V + om + N₂ in transitive clauses,

where N₁ and N₂ are the subject and object nouns (or substitutes) respectively, nm is as usual 'noun marker', sm is 'subject marker', and om 'object marker'. It is important to note that nm can be omitted only under specified conditions, while sm cannot be omitted at all.

In the following sections, C.2.1. is concerned with the Noun itself; C.2.2. deals with the elements which syntactically depend on the noun. In C.2.3. the substitutes for N, commonly called pronouns (of various kinds) are set out in their different varieties.

C.2.1. The Noun

Arosi nouns are either simple, compound (or phrasal) or derived. The bulk of the vocabulary involved in naming the people and objects in the neighbourhood consists of simple nouns, whose place is in the dictionary, not in the grammar. They form the basic lexicon of reference. Names of persons are not included in this lexical component of the language, but they exercise certain syntactic influences which do concern the grammar.

Apart from simple nouns, phrasal nouns consist of two lexical components generally linked by a preposition such as *ni*, *of*. The two components may each function independently, e.g. *ruma*, *house* > *ruma ni ora*, *canoe house*, *house of canoe*; *ruma ni maho i ngau*, *storehouse*, *room for things to eat*.

Derived nouns are formed by the addition of suffixes to a base which is generally verbal in nature: *koe*, *deceive* > *koeha*, *deceit*. From the same root by a regular process adjectival derivatives, e.g. *koekoe*, *false* may be formed. A similar trio is *keto*, *be sore* > *keto-na*, *a sore*; *ketoketo'a*, *full of sores*.

The same sets of noun markers is used with all types of nouns (C.2.ii(a) below).

C.2.1.i(a). Simple Nouns

This sub-class is divisible into names of objects and names of living beings. Personal names are a subcategory of the latter and the distinctions need to be made because there are variations in syntax depending on the sub-grouping.

There is no gender classification in the language. The examples are set out below under the three headings mentioned. Personal names nowadays are usually English Christian names; in the examples old names from a kinship table have been used.

Examples

Objects	Persons	Personal names
hau: <i>stone</i>	noni: <i>man</i>	Uuri (m)
sina: <i>sun</i>	urao: <i>woman</i>	Rota (f)
i'a, <i>fish</i>	gare: <i>child</i>	Ianimanu (m)
rarakī, <i>thorn</i>	sae: <i>human being</i>	Suari (f)

Although there are no classes resting on gender or sex, there are two groups of Arosi simple nouns. Formally there are two ways of indicating possession: (1) a suffix of person is added to a noun, e.g. *abe-gu*, *my body*, *abe-mu*, *your body*, *abe-na*, *his or her body* etc. or (2) the possessive marker is added to a free noun base which serves as carrier: *gare a-gu*, *my child*, *gare a-mu*, *your child*, *gare a-na*, *his or her child*. This dual division of nouns is common to all Melanesian languages; the second class is subdivided in varying ways in many of them, though not in Arosi. See C.2.ii below.

C.2.1.i(b) Phrasal Nouns

The term "phrasal noun" has been defined above. It refers to a noun phrase consisting of two components generally but not always linked by a preposition, of which the chief are *ni* and *i*. Such phrasal nouns are very common in Arosi.

Phrasal nouns fall into certain sub-classes:

1. *noni* + N = noun of agent; *noni* = *person*. Examples: *tauaro*, *work* > *noni tauaro*, *workman*. Agency may also be expressed by other means: see *Nominals*, below. Other examples are: *noni haiwai*, *bridegroom*; *noni beriberi*, *thief*; *noni tatagora*, *servant*. In some cases *noni* is omitted: *iraaū na rongo-i-suri*, *the learners, disciples*. *Bridegroom* may be also expressed by *na noni na haiwai* or *na gina haiwai*: see dictionary.

2. N + i + N, where i = *of, for*. The distinction between a *place of* and a *place for* does not seem to be made in Arosi. There is also ni, *of* as a replacement for i, and this does not seem to produce any difference of meaning. Examples are numerous: hua i rumu, *oil flask* (which may or may not contain oil); oi i wai, *cup of water, water cup*; gare i maa, *pupil* (lit. *child*) *of the eye*; madora i dangi, *time of day*; maena i 'abu, *the price of blood*. In the last example the construction is rather different in that mae-na contains the suffixed possessive. This occurs also in such a phrase as dana ana i suru, *plate of soup*, which may also be *his plate of soup*.

Phrases with ni are: ruma ni maho i ngau, *house for storing food, storehouse*; ruma ni ora, *canoe house*. In some cases English terms are used: kisini, *kitchen*. In other cases, where in other languages English or Pidgin terms have been introduced, in Arosi native terms are used: ruma ni ho'o-ho'o, *prison*, where Pidgin kalabusi might be expected, while English *knife* is adapted as naihi where a native term would have been expected. These are dictionary matters as far as usage is concerned; grammar matters where a native construction is involved.

3. Compounding of two nouns is very common in Arosi, and covers all types of phrase. Dora, *place*, produces a number of compounds such as dora heiheinagu, *chair < heinagu, sit*; dora ngaungau, *table < ngau, eat, food*. Examples will be found under various headings in the dictionary. Another common base for compounding is ahu, answering to English *heart* as seat of feeling and producing such compounds as ahuba'ahau, *hard heartedness*; ahurodo, *blindness of heart* (rodo = *dark*); ahutaa, *ill will, malice* (taa = *bad*); ahutotou, *trouble of mind, affliction* (tou = *weep*).

The basic elements in such compounds are not always nouns. The verb 'adoma'i, *think* forms compounds that may or may not be nouns: 'adoma'i mwaeraha, *pride (thinking chief)*; 'adoma'i mwaheahe, *contempt* (mwaheahe = *despise*); 'adoma'i 'orisi, *repentance* ('orisi = *turn back*, but the verbal form is 'orisi 'adoma'i in this case, *repent*).

Another verb common element in compounding is huna, *its base*, which results generally in adjectival formations, e.g. huna i heita'ahi, *all loving*, lit. *source of love*; huna i mena, *source of power*, i.e. *almighty*; huna i tahi tarau, *everliving*, lit. *source of life eternal*. The word dangi, *day, weather*, forms compounds such as dangi reho, *tempest*; o'a, *stay*, such as o'a koekoe, *hypocrisy*, lit. *state of falseness*. In other cases again, set phrases are found which are constructed on rather different patterns, such as totou i ahuna, *tribulation*, lit. *weeping in his heart*. Lists of such phrases must be sought in the dictionary.

C.2.1.i(c) Derived Nouns

Arosi has fewer derived nouns than the Malaita languages, in that suffixation is less common in Arosi, and the -ana, -anga suffixes found in Malaita as formants of verbal nouns are absent from Arosi. One prefix and one suffix are common.

A The prefix *hai-* ~ *hei-* ~ *ha'i* is not limited to nouns, but plays an important part in their formation. It is basically reciprocal, and besides the three allomorphs listed here, there is a form *hari-* with verbs which does not seem to be used in the formation of nouns. The uses are as follows: *hai-* and *hei-* being free variants, controlled rather by locality than anything linguistic, and *ha'i-* having a special use, which in Malaita languages belongs to *hai-*.

1. *hai-* forms abstract nouns with certain stems: *totori-*, *to hope* > *haitotori*, *hope*; *ta'ahi*, *to love* > *heita'ahi*, *love* as noun. Other words such as *hinihini*, *believe*, however, do not use the prefix: *hinihini* is also *faith*.

2. *ha'i-* forms reciprocals of kinship terms, and combines with the appropriate suffixed pronouns to form compound terms: *ama-*, *father* ~ *ha'i-ama-da*, *father and son*, *fathers and sons*; *ina-*, *mother* ~ *ha'i-ina-da*, *mother and daughter*. The only available equivalent to *family* in Arosi is *ha'iamada ma ha'iinada*.

Reference should be made to the dictionary for uses of these prefixes, all of which are interrelated.

B The noun-forming suffix *-ha* is a productive suffix. A few examples will show its uses; many others will occur in the body of the dictionary.

taro: tell > *taroha*, *news*
goro, good > *goroha*, *good condition, peace*
'ari, go > *'ariha*, *journey, going*
o'a, stay, abide > *o'aha*, *way of life*
dao, be sick > *daoha*, *sickness*

It will be seen that more than one lexical category may take this suffix. In some cases, however, a verb does not take a suffix at all to be used as a noun: this was demonstrated earlier in this section. E.g. *tauro*, *to act*, *action*. The occurrences of the two types cannot be predicted.

In some instances the verbal noun thus formed can take a further remoter transitive suffix, as in the case of *taro-ha'-inia*, *give a message to someone*.

C.2.1.ii. Nominalisations

Some of the above phrasal nouns have verged on the phrase rather than being strictly nouns except in syntactic functions. The formation of such phrases demands particular treatment under the heading 'nominalisation'. English uses of *-ing* illustrate the principle of nominalisation: *his chasing of the burgler, their running away* are examples of such formations. Another type appears when a subject or object, usually a noun or pronoun, is replaced by a clause: *I understand WHY HE RAN AWAY*: the capitalised portion is grammatically a noun *his running away*; similarly, *THAT HE DID NOT KNOW ME is strange*, equivalent to *his ignorance of me* or *his not knowing me*. Such nominalisations can be important in Arosi, also, but they are not so marked formally as they are in the Malaita languages.

A verbal phrase may itself function as a noun, like the English phrases and clauses illustrated above. That is to say, the phrase may be nominalised. In Arosi the ending *-ana* common in Malaita languages does not appear, and there is no formal difference between the verb and the noun, except that the latter is preceded by a noun marker, especially *na* (see below). Thus *na omesuri, the caretaker, the one who ome- (look) srui after*; *inei na mae, the dead (pl.)*; *na ohongi'o, the trying-you, your trial, temptation*; *e dangi 'oi hihirami, the day of judgment, lit. the day you will judge us*; *na 'aidangisia i Garena God, the knowledge (OR knowing) of the Son of God*. In the last instance the phrase is ambiguous; if *na* were regarded as a verbal person marker, the sentence would be *he knows the Son of God*.

The formal side of nominalisation processes can be set out as follows:

1. Nominal is identical with N, e.g. *dao, lie down: rau dao i'ei, they lay in it (place)*; *nau omesia i dao ana, I saw his lying, I saw that he was lying down*: *ana* is the possessive 3rd person singular and therefore the preceding word is N, not V. Such nominalisations can be intransitive, as in the above case, or transitive, as in *na omesira heriheri i'a, he saw the sellers of fish: he saw them (they) sold fish*. this would equally well answer to English *he saw them selling fish, he saw that they were selling fish*. Arosi nominalisations are somewhat less specific than English, there is not quite so large a selection of forms. So also, *na omesuri, the caretaker*, as above: *na omesuri bo, the pig keeper* - not *omesurira* because pigs are not human, while *na omesuri'i bo* would be definite, *the keeper of THE pigs*. Another example: *no'ai dangi 'o tahi i'ei, in your lifetime, lit. in the time you live in-it*.

As appears above, nominalisations in Arosi are used in some instances where English would employ a noun-clause, e.g. *ra raba-si-a i nora-si-ami*, *they wish-it the injuring-of-us, they wish to injure us*. The nm *i* here is usual, indicating the object of the verb, even though the subject is expanded to clause status. Sometimes also such a construction is used after a preposition: *'inia i ha'aasa'o*, *on account of the praising-you*, i.e. *in your honour, in honour of you*.

An entire clause may be nominalised by a preceding nm:

na ahu-na a mahai 'inia / i omesia i omaa na
his-heart was aroused by the see-it the village aforesaid.
'His heart was aroused by seeing that village', or 'his heart was
aroused by the sight of that village'.

C.2.1.iii. Noun-Phrase Markers

Brief reference was made at the beginning of this section to certain markers which accompany N in a phrase or sentence. These are now to be detailed.

Noun-markers are invariable morphemes which accompany N and define it in some particular way. They are not quite equivalent to 'articles' in European languages, for they mark chiefly the fact that the word to which they point is a noun, not primarily whether it is definite or indefinite. In fact, the syntactic function of the noun is more important than its definiteness. Number, also, is not inherent in the noun-marker; it is expressed by separate components of the phrase. It is convenient to speak of the "focus" of a noun-marker (abbreviated here nm). By focus is meant the centre of attention. The first centre of attention in an utterance is usually what is being talked about - in other words, the subject of the sentence, from the grammatical point of view. The term "focus" is therefore used here to refer to the subject position; the contrary "non-focus" will refer to any other part of the sentence - the object, a noun following a preposition, etc.

The noun-markers in Arosi can then be represented as follows:

TABLE OF AROSI NOUN-MARKERS

	Singular		Plural	
	Non-personal	Personal	Non-personal	Personal
Focus	na, e	a, ia	na mwani na mwahi	(i)raau
Non-focus	i		i mwani i mwahi	

As *a* and *ia* are free variants, there are really four nm's in Arosi, and they will be dealt with *seriatim*, reading across the matrix.

1. *a*, *ia*. The former is the basic form; the form *ia* is compounded of *a* and a third person marker, *i*, which does not occur as a free form in Arosi, but is found in *ia*, *he*, *she*. This marker indicates that the noun following refers to a person whether native or not. It serves also to personalise common nouns. Thus people will be referred to as *a Pita*, *Peter*. *ia Pita* is also possible. In the case of a common noun, e.g. *hau*, *stone*, the reference is to the external object; *a Hau* or *ia Hau* is *Stone*, as a person, whether male or female. In some languages further distinction can be made: in Mota of Banks Is., *i Vat* would be *Mr Stone*; *iro Vat*, *Mrs or Miss Stone*, and *ira Vat*, *the Stone family*. This subcategorisation does not occur in Arosi; the marker personalises generally, not specifically. The marker may also precede a word that is not a noun and become descriptive of a person: *mena*, *supernatural power*, gives *a Mena*, *the Mighty One* - the capitalisation, of course, is a practice of European orthography only. Preceding the terms *hereho* or *maho*, *thing*, *a* personalises in general terms: *a hereho* or *a maho*, *so-and-so*, *what's his name*.

As one's kindred are also persons, this marker is used before kinship terms: *a amagu*, *ia amagu*, *my father*; *a amagu a tatauaro*, *my father is working* (the second *a* is a verbal sign); *a amagu ai haa tanaamu*, *my father will give it to you*.

In the substitute passive (C.1.iv) *a* is retained in Arosi: *a nugasia hako wou a John*, *John was shut away (in prison)*.

This *a*, *ia* occurs only in focus, i.e. in reference to the actor of an action, the subject of a sentence. In all other positions it is replaced by *i*, except that when it is preceded by *ma*, *and*, it becomes *na*, losing its personalising quality. Examples of the substitution of *i* in non-focus are: *ia i do'ora-gu*, *he is my brother* (not *a do'oragu*); *ia naani i garegu*, *this one is my son*. In the object position even *i* is not necessary; the object prefix *-a* on the verb is sufficient: *nau omesia Pita*, *I saw Peter*. If there is a second noun, linked to the first by *ma*, *and*, then a form *mia* is used: *na mwane ai gagata'inia amana mia inana*, *a man will leave his father and mother*. It is possible to use *i* after the verb is desired, although unnecessary: *a omesia i amana*, *he saw his father*.

The uses of *a*, *ia* may be summarised thus: they occur in focus:

1. before names of people
- ii. before common nouns personified: a hereho, *so-and-so*; a mo'o ni, *this fellow*.
- iii. before relationship terms: a amagu, *my father*.
- iv. with the personal interrogative: a tei, *ia tei, who?*

Fox also holds that the initial a of possessives such as a-gu, *my*, a-mu, *your*, etc. is this same nm. (C.2.2.ii. below).

General examples of this marker follow:

ia Pita a ha'ataaria i noni si, *Peter sent that man*; ia Araha nai bei'o, *the Lord is with you*; ia waigu a hasiwae, *my wife is old*.

For uses of non-focus, see below.

2. Non-personal markers in focus are na and e. The distinction between them is that na is slightly more definite than e: e itself is indefinite, and is not usually sentence initial. Na is sentence or clause initial - in other positions it becomes non-focus and is replaced by i. Because na is sentence or phrase initial it is used after the conjunction ma, *and* - the combined mana is generally written in the literature as a single word, though there is no logical reason that it should be. Na is used (a) when there is no verb, e.g. in a heading: na onioni 'inia..., *A story about...*, *the story of...* followed by the name; (b) in place-names: iraaau na Wango, *the Wango people*; (c) sentence initial when a specific person is referred to: na hi'ona a ha'ate tanaa..., *the spirit (ghost) said to him...*; (d) after ma: na noni mana garena..., *the man and his son...*; (e) in apposition: A God na Ha'atahiau, *God my Saviour*, lit. *God the make-me-live*; under this heading its use with plurals could be justified: iraaau na noni, *the men*, parallel to but slightly different from (b).

3. The form e is used as an indefinite article: e urao, *a woman*, but, unlike na it is usually predicative rather than subject: inau e nani ana, *I am his man*; urao ni a hinihini e urao a'ea'e'a, *the woman (who) believes is a happy woman*; ia e noni odoodo, *he was (or is) a righteous man*. E can be initial: e noni na boi, *a man will come*; e noni e adaro nei'ei, *the man (had) a spirit in him, was possessed*; na to'oni ana e uri kamel, *his clothes were camel-skin*; na ahuda e boo heheingau, *their hearts are fierce pigs (wild animals)*.

4. The nm which replaces all the non-personal markers in non-focus position is i, and no English 'meaning' can be assigned to it. It is predominantly a function word, not a content word. There are three uses of i:

(a) Non-focus as direct object of a verb: *nau omesia i urao, I saw a (OR the) woman; 'oi 'unua 'inia i atana John, You will call his name John; 'o durua i taha?, what did you promise?; au durua i oru hereho, I promised three things.*

(b) Non-focus in the absence of a verb: *e taha i maho ha'aho na ha'-asuri rau?, what was the last thing he taught them?*

(c) Non-focus after a preposition: *na 'ari beia i garena, he went with his son; rarua 'ari suuria i one, the two of them followed the shore; 'inia i taha?, how?, with what?; nai rarona i waba, in the grave; na hano baania i omaa si, he went away from that village.*

It is to be noted that the presence of a demonstrative such as *si, that* (in the preceding example) does not eliminate the need for an nm. See C.2.2.i. below.

Although the nm's are not in themselves either definite or indefinite, there are certain forms which express the indefinite when needed. The basic word is *ta*, really the numeral *one*, but used in the sense of *one, any, some*: *nau 'ai'ai 'irara mau o'a beia ta mwane, I have not yet lived with any man (i.e. the speaker is a virgin); garena a nongia ta hua, his son asks for a fruit (a piece of fruit); nau haaua tanaa ta hau, I gave him a stone. This ta may be compounded with demonstratives: tanei adarua, one of them two; tanei e rua gare ana, a certain man two sons his, i.e. had two sons; followed by a negative verb, the sense of no, none, nothing: tanei 'ai'a omesia mau, no one has ever seen him; 'ai'a tarawa'a ta'inia ta hereho, na ha'apwara no'a, not one thing was made without him; mou bwa'i haaua mwadau ta hereho, you cannot do anything.*

The personal non-focus form is not *i*, but *a* or *ia*, i.e. it coalesces with the focus form - the stress is on the personality rather than on the focus. Examples: *ra 'unua i atana ia Pita, they called his name Peter* - *i* is used before the non-personal *atana*, but *ia* before the personal *Pita*. With kinship terms the same usage is retained: *rau soia mai a amana mia inana mo'o na, they called hither his-father and his-mother the person aforesaid, they called the man's parents (to come to them).* If there is no intermediate non-personal noun, a proper noun retains *a* or *ia*: *ia a daua a Pita, he took Peter; 'o nugasigirarua a Pita mia Paul, separate out (from the group) Peter and Paul. Where two names are linked, ia is always used with the second: mia < ma + ia, and person.*

C.2.1.iv. Markers of the Plural

Plural markers in Arosi are *mwani* and *mwahi*, and the third person plural pronoun *iraa*, *raa* as shown in the preceding matrix. Although the first two are placed in the 'non-personal' column, they are actually used quite often with nouns indicating living beings such as *urao*, *woman*: *na mwani urao*, while (i)*raa* is used with other terms, such as those of kinship.

The functions of *mwani*, *mwahi* are simply those of number indication. The noun markers considered in the preceding sections carry no direct implication of number, except for *e*, which is definitely singular, and is never coupled with *mwani*, *mwahi*. On the other hand, *na* and *i* regularly precede these other markers. Of these, *mwani* is much commoner in usage than *mwahi*, but there is no semantic distinction between them. The rules regarding focus are the same with these pluralisers as without them. Examples are: Focus: *na mwani dangi*, *days*; *na mwani he'u*, *the stars*; *na mwani ahu*, *the hearts (of people)*; *na mwani hereho si*, *those things* - *mwahi* may be substituted. Non-focus: *mou omesi'i i mwani hereho si*, *you see those things*; the *nm na* is omitted in address: *mwani noni ni Heuru!*, *men of Heuru!*

Certain other forms of address are found also: *ro mwane!*, *you people!*; *arai haido'orado*, *brethren!* In the Gospel translation of Matthew 11:28, Christ is made to say, *ro mwane*, *amou hako rahe ma mou rorosu...*, *all you who are burdened and laden...*, as an address form, which would not appear otherwise.

The personal plural marker *iraa*, *raa* is really the pronoun *they*. Some of the Malaita languages use this form as a pluraliser of general application, placed after the noun, as in Lau *na mwane gi*, *the males*, where *gi* represents Arosi *iraa*. Lau also has *mwai*, representing *mwahi*, but in this language *mwai* is used only with kinship terms, while in Ulaw *mwai* is the general pluraliser. In Arosi *iraa* is the general personal marker, and if only two people are referred to, (i)*rarua*, *they two* is substituted for it. There is no dual marker in Arosi in other situations. The marker *mwani* is not usually combined with *iraa*, but in non-focus position it may appear: *iia a hano tanaaraa i mwani urao*, *he went to the women*: here *i* is used before the noun in non-focus position, while the personal marker is reduced to a suffix to the preposition *tana-*, *to*, becoming an anticipatory form, like the *-a* suffix to a transitive verb. It then becomes possible to omit the *iraa*, replacing it by *-ra*, the object suffix to the verb, but retaining *na bwareoamaea-ra i kaakae*, *the baptise (the) infants*. Of course, if there

is no noun to follow, the full suffix is retained: *ra bwareomaea-raau, they baptise them.*

The personal plural marker not only refers to people, but makes the plural definite: *iraaau na mwani urao, the (as against some) women.* More usually, with *iraaau*, *mwani* need not appear: *iraaau garena, his sons*, lit. *they son-his (-na)*, and similarly *irarua garena, his two sons*; *iia a boi beirarua do'ora-gu, he came to them-two brother-my*, i.e. *he came to my two brothers*. In a possessive phrase, a similar abbreviated construction is found: *na ruma adaau i oni, the men's house*; *na mwani ruma adaau i noni, the men's houses*; *na ahu-da i noni, the men's hearts*.

Syntactically, the verb carries an object suffix which is redundant, and the plural noun complement follows this whole phrase: *nau ome-si-raau na noni, I saw-them the men, I saw the men*. If the noun is not personal, the suffix to the verb is not *-ra* or *-raau* but *-i* (see below, p.67): *nau omesi'i i mwani hereho si, I saw those things*; *o'i haa'i i mwani tauaro amu, you shall do your work(s)*.

C.2.2. Adjuncts of the Noun

Adjuncts of the noun comprise word types classifiable as adjectives or descriptives (symbol, A), possessives (p) and numeratives (num). Deictics may also occur in the NP - symbolised as D - but are not limited to it. In Arosi they may function as noun substitutes or locatives. In this function they will be discussed in C.2.3. In addition there are some types of defining words, chiefly number markers, that occur in NP before N. The NP with all possible adjuncts is then represented by a formula

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{def} \\ \text{nm} \\ \text{num} \end{array} \rightarrow N \pm p \pm A \equiv D.$$

Not all members of this complex will, of course, occur together at one time; some, in fact, cannot co-occur with certain others for semantic reasons. Moreover, the nature of A renders a twofold arrangement possible within this section of the phrase.

The forms of the various types of adjunct will be studied first; in the second section their arrangement when co-occurrent in the NP may be profitably discussed.

C.2.2.i. The Descriptive

Arosi descriptives, like Arosi nouns, are of two kinds, simple and derived, i.e. formed from other word-classes. Many are simple roots,

and tend to be phonemically of the pattern CVCV, such as *goro*, *good*; *raha*, *big*; *tewa*, *long*.

Derived forms which are a subgroup of D occur with the prefix *ma-* or the suffix *-a*. These are both of Austronesian origin, showing reflexes in many languages as well as Arosi. There is another common prefix, *ta-*, which marks a state assumed spontaneously, but this does not seem to occur in Arosi; the loss of *t* which is such a strong feature of Arosi would tend to reduce this prefix phonetically, and apparently it has not developed in the language. Codrington in his *Melanesian Languages* gave no equivalent of *ta-* for Wango.

Of *ma-*, Fox states that "more than 800 words have the prefix *ma-*. It is the characteristic mark of an Austronesian language." It is a prefix indicating a state, and marks a stative verb or a descriptive, such as among the latter, *mangasara*, *empty*; *maoro* or *manihi*, *thin*; *mahera*, *broad*; and *mauru*, *sleep* among the former.

The common suffix *-a* represents Austronesian *-ka*, *-ga*: *keto*, *be sore* > *ketona*, *a sore* > *ketoketo'a*, *full of sores*. Also *a'ea'e*, *rejoice* > *a'ea'e'a*, *rejoicing, happy*; *mae*, *die* > *mae'a*, *dead*.

The inclusion of stative verbs such as *mauru*, *sleep* among the above lists, recalls the fact that an adjective used in the predicate of a sentence is linked with the subject by a verbal marker, as was shown in C.2.1.iii. above. *Inau nau goro*, *I am good* is structurally parallel to *inau nau mauru*, *I sleep* or - adjectivally - *I am asleep*. From the viewpoint of transformation grammar, therefore, the adjective may be regarded as essentially a transform of a verb, viz. V_{adj} . This is one of the reasons for treating the verb phrase before the noun phrase in the present grammar. So *e urao wari a mai na*, *an old woman has come*, with the NP *e urao wari* may be regarded as containing in the NP a V_{adj} transform of *e urao a wari*, *the woman is old* as an embedded clause transformed by the deletion of the verbal sign *a* into *e urao wari a mai na*.

In a number of Melanesian languages the adjective is either syntactically a transform of a VP as in the above instance, or actually a VP containing the verbal marker. Thus in Mota of the Banks Islands, the two sentences, *o tanun we gopa*, *the man is sick* and *o tanun we risa alo im^{wa}*, *the man lies in the house*, produce the single sentence *o tanun we gopa we risa alo im^{wa}*, *the sick man (or, the man who is sick) is lying in the house*, by embedding with loss of the second NP but with retention of the verbal sign. In Arosi the former deletion takes place and the verbal sign is lost also.

Just as there are phrasal nouns, so there are phrasal adjectives, such as *i muri, at the rear, behind*, in *na gare i muri, the younger son*, and *i na'o, in front*, in the phrase *na gare i na'o, the elder son*. On the whole, however, these are fewer in number than the phrasal nouns, and are mostly lexical items.

Comparison is carried out in a manner somewhat different from the European. There are two types of comparison: equality and inequality.

Equality is expressed by the use of the verb *onai, to be the same as, similar to*, as in *na gare a raha onai i amana, the child is as big as his father!*; *au omesi'i onai mwani hasi'ei, I see them resemble trees, they look like trees to me*; *na tatagora ai onai-a i bwausi ana, the servant will be equal to his master* (Matthew 10:25). *Onai* as a transitive verb takes the suffix *-a* or *-i* as required.

Inequality in European languages is subdivided into 'more than', 'less than'. This is not so in Arosi. The fact of inequality is expressed by *ororiu, exceed*. This can be used with nothing to follow: *iatei na ororiu?, who is the greater (or greatest)?* If a comparison is made with another object, the preposition *baani-, from* is used as the link: *na ruma ni a ororiu baania i ruma si, this house is bigger than that*, lit. *this house exceeds from that house*. Similarly, *kekerei baani-, small from, smaller than*, with omission of *ororiu: i'oe 'o kekerei baaniau, you are smaller than I*.

A second method of expressing comparison is the use of *riu*, an abbreviation of *ororiu*. *Riu* simply follows the adjective as an adjunct to it: *a goro riu, it is better*, lit. *it is good exceed*; *ai goro riu tana'o, it will be better for you*. A dependent clause is then linked to this phrase by *huni, that*: *ai goro riu tana'o humi 'oi siri nai ruma, it will be better for you that you shall go into the house, you had better go into the house*. A further derivative is *riutaha: a riutaha baania amagu, he is a greater (man) than my father*.

Sometimes the verb *hihi'a, have value*, is used in comparisons: *na noni a hihi'a he'ua baania i bo, a man has value how much from a pig?, how much better is a man than a pig?*

It is possible also to have more complicated phrases but these are less usual. An example is found in the Gospel translation at Mark 10:25:

ai	mwadaw	tana i	kamel ai	siri nai	maana	i nira
it-will-be	possible	to a	camel	it-will	enter into	eye-its a needle
baania	inei ra	to'ora	ha'a rai	siri nai	hourana	ana God
from-it	some they own	wealth	they-will	enter into	realm	his God

'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for the rich to enter the kingdom of God.'

Comparison of diminution is treated in the same way as comparison of increase: *nau kekerei riu baania, I am less than he.*

The same auxiliary *riu* is also used to express an absolute superlative: *raha riu, very great*, as in *a hau na raha riu, the story was very big.* An alternative is *rakahi* used similarly: *na ahudaau a totou rakahi 'inia, their hearts were very sorry about it.*

A pejorative comparison is marked by *gere, little*, which, however, precedes the adjective: *gere goro, rather good.* This *gere* enters into certain NP compounds: *gere sae, young man; gereama, father's brother; gereina, mother's sister, father's sister.*

C.2.2.ii. Noun-Adjuncts: Deictics

Deictics or demonstratives show both formal and behavioral differences accordingly as they are adjuncts to nouns or substitutes for them. In the present section adjuncts only are dealt with; for noun substitutes see C.2.3.ii.

The Arosi language distinguishes only two positions to emphasize - near the speaker, and at a distance from him. The intermediate position, 'near the addressee', does not occur in this part of Melanesia. The basic forms in Arosi are *ni, near the speaker*, and *si, distant from the speaker.* To these must be added *na, aforesaid* in reference to a person or object already known, regardless of its situation. These deictics follow the noun to which they refer. Before the noun the appropriate marker is retained except under certain specified conditions. The indefinite marker *e*, of course, does not occur, but either *ia* or *na* may appear. The combination *na...na* does not seem to be used. Examples:

(1) *ni, this, near speaker: ia mo'o ni, this person; na ha'ate ni, this word, this speech*

(11) *si, that, removed from speaker: ia mo'o si, that person over there; na mwani hereho si, those things; e tai tanga-huru noni si, those ten men*, those ten men.*

A second set of compound deictics is also found, and these, like the others, follow the noun. They are formed by prefixing *i-* to the short forms, and appear to be slightly stronger than the others. The prefix *i-* is found with pronouns also, giving them a certain degree of

*The *e* before the phrase is not the indefinite *nm*, but a homophonous particle which precedes numerals. The plural *men* is taken to be expressed by the fact that there are *ten* of them, but will be expressed in the verb phrase preceding or following, e.g. *au omesiraau e tai tangahuru noni si, I saw those ten men*, or *e tai tangahuru noni si raau boi no'a, those ten men have arrived.*

independence: see end of C.2.3.i. Examples: na noni isi, *these men*; na mwani maho ini, *these things*; na ha'a buoahu ini, *these wonders*; na mwani hereho ini, *these things*; na mwani dangi isi, *those days**.

A form with prefixed na- is also found: naini, naisi. It is not clear just how it is constructed, whether the na is the deictic of back reference or (less likely) the noun-marker, but its uses are very similar to those of ini and isi.

A third compound deictic, prefixing a- is ani, plural aani (i.e. lengthening of vowel), referring back in the same way as does na: maho ani, *that thing*, known but not visible. Sentence final, ani may be used to mean *therefore, on account of this, that is why*, and in this usage it defines the entire preceding clause: naasi gau reia ga'u ani, *the one we had seen before*.

In addition to compound forms of deictics there are also reduplicated forms nainini and naasinini, as in na mwani ha'ate nainini, *these words*, or i'amou mou irara 'ini ha'ate nasinini, *you know about these words* (which have been previously spoken). Naasi and naasinini always refer back to an earlier reference, and they may be separated by a considerable interval from the immediate reference. A good example of this separation is seen in the translation of Mark 4:24 in Arosi:

i tohotoho mou tohonია 'inia rai tohotoho ahoi tanaamou
the measure you measure-it with (it), they-will measure again to-you
 naasi.
that-one.

This naasi at the end of the sentence is actually a noun substitute and not an adjunct in this instance, but it shows the use of these forms in backward reference.

It is also possible to use a simple si in the same way to finalise an utterance:

nau 'adoma'ina huni na marewana ma'ata abwa'i haa'i mwadau i mwani
I think that the world entire will-not hold be-able the pl.
 usuusu rai usu'i si.
writing they-will write-them those.

'I think the whole world would not be able to contain the books WHICH would be written.' (John 21:25).

* There are several ways of expressing oneself in this connection. In *those days* may also be expressed as no'ai dangi naasinini (see next paragraph), nai dangi naasi or nai dangi naisi, *at that time*, dangi rago isi, *all those days, all that time*.

C.2.2.iii. Numeratives*

There are several numeral systems in Arosi, but they agree in treating the numerals as nouns; and there is one outstanding system, used on most occasions, which is a decimal one. This is the one generally found in Melanesia, and in it the cardinal numbers are as follows:

e ta'ai (East Arosi), e ta'i (West Arosi), e ta (in counting) *one*
 e rua, *two*
 e oru, *three*
 e hai, *four*
 e rima, *five*
 e ono, *six*
 e biu, *seven*
 e waru, *eight*
 e siwa, *nine*
 tangahuru, *ten*

above ten these numerals are repeated, preceded by the conjunction *mana*, *and*, or *ma*, *and*, with the verb *adara*, *to exceed, go beyond*, e.g.: e ta'i tangahuru *mana rua* or e ta'i tangahuru *ma adara rua*, *twelve*, and so on; e rua tangahuru, *twenty*; up to tangarau, *a hundred*.

A complete ten sometimes has the word *hunu* or *hunuhunu*, *complete*, added.

Koa, *mate* is used to express odd and even, koa goro, *even*; koa ta'a, *odd*.

The article *e* may be omitted, or replaced by either of the nominal articles *i*, *na*, the use in this matter following that of the same articles with other nouns, though *e* perhaps is more commonly used with the numerals.

Tahi is used instead of ta'i, with the counting unit *oa* (*of people sitting*) and in *oa tahi*, *a widow*.

Above a hundred the system proceeds in the same way (e.g. e hai tangarau e rua tangahuru *mana biu*, 427) to a thousand, *meru*; and so on to any number of thousands, but *meru* is the highest numeral term.

The ordinals are formed from the cardinals by suffixing *na*, and are also nouns; in this case *na* is the usual article: *na e tana*, *one*; *na ruana*, *two* etc.

* This section was written by Dr Fox himself and appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.40 (1931) pp.236-43. It is reprinted by permission of the editor of the JPS.

(Note: ha'ata'i or ha'ata'ai, *once*; haata'ai or ha'ata'ai, *completely*.)

These forms may also be used for *first*, *second*, etc. just as vagatu-wale, vagarua may be in Mota.

Distributives - *One at a time*, etc. are expressed by using the word werawera before the numeral, and usually reduplicating the numeral: werawera ta'i, *one at a time*; werawera rua, *two at a time*. Or simply by reduplication: ta'ita'i nei, *one at a time*; 'ado rua, 'ado oru etc., *two each, three each*.

Waruta, perhaps connected with waru (*eight*), means a large but indefinite number.

As however haru is also used to mean a (small) indefinite number (*some*), the two words may be two forms with a common origin and connected with Mota valu, *every, all*; indirectly connected with the reciprocal hari, hai (Mota var); rather perhaps than related to waru, (*eight*).

Tangarau is seldom used except for men or coconuts; 'arangi replaces it.

This is the ordinary Arosi system, simple and typically Melanesian; but, besides this, almost every children's game has its counting song, with quite different numerals, e.g., they may all of them be the names of trees; and also many special objects are counted in a different way. This last fact is perhaps the most important fact in Arosi numeration, and of value in classifying the language. It would appear that objects were once divided into a number of categories; with some things counting only proceeded as far as ten, with some to a hundred, in the case of coconuts to twenty million. Sometimes counting is by ones, sometimes by pairs, sometimes by fours, sometimes by fives; the pair, or four or five being reckoned as a unit and given a distinct name. This leads to varying values for numerical terms, as the following example will make clear: 'arangi is a term used for a hundred in counting several kinds of objects; it means a hundred of the particular unit.

In counting money the unit is tahanga, which consists of four fathoms of shell money (all money is counted by fours); ten of these is an ita and a hundred ita is 'arangi - i.e. 4,000 lengths. But in counting money in the form of fish or bats' teeth, the unit is four and is an abe; 'arangi means 100 abe - i.e., 400 teeth.

In counting houses, where the unit is one, 'arangi means 100.

Yams are counted by fives, yet 'arangi does not mean 500, but 200, as though counting by pairs were once the custom. Thus 'arangi, used of shell-money, means 4,000 fathoms; of teeth-money, 400 teeth; of yams, 200 tubers; of houses, 100 houses.

1. *Yams, taro, bananas, stones, mangoes:*

The ordinary numerals are used up to five, which is *dumai*, and which is the unit, as these objects are counted by fives; *e rua dumai* is *ten*, but *waioa*, a *pair*, also comes into the counting; *ta'i dumai mana waioa*, *seven* (*eight* is *ta'i dumai mana ta'i waioa mana ta'i*). Five *dumai* are *gagau*, 25, and two *gagau* or ten *dumai* are *susuaba*, 50; two *susuaba* (W) - *abaaba* (E) - are *'arangi*, 100. Counting then proceeds by *'arangi*, ten of which are *wawaibe'o*, 1,000; ten *wawaibe'o* are *husia*, 10,000; ten *husia* are *sinora*, 100,000; ten *sinora* are *rau*, 1,000,000. When *husia* is reached they nip off the leaves (*rawa*, *rau*) of a fern *tahutahu*, and when they are all nipped off this number was *rau*, said to be 100 *husia*, but probably varying in number. Beyond a million counting ceased. This is West Arosi; in East Arosi *abaaba* is one hundred, and two *abaaba* are *'arangi*; ten *'arangi* are *sosooba*, *two thousand*; and ten *sosooba* are *wawaibe'o*, 20,000; *ahusia*, 200,000 etc. But in Arosi East mangoes are counted as in West Arosi, and *abaaba* (E) = *susuaba* (W). In Ulawa *sinola* is 1,000 yams; and *mora* may be used in Arosi for *husia* (U. *mola*, 10,000 yams or taro).

2. *Coconuts:*

These are counted by pairs, *waioa*; five *waioa* are *a'uru*; ten *a'uru* are *tangarau*, 100; ten *tangarau* are *bwera*, 1,000; ten *bwera* are *rau ki haru* (*haru* is a tree), 10,000; ten *rau ki haru* are *rawa i niu* (*leaf of coconut*), 100,000; ten *rawa i niu* are *niu tari*, 1,000,000. In East Arosi the counting is the same to *rawa i niu*, 100,000 (though *rau ki haru* is *raukuhari*); but ten *rawa i niu* are *raurauniha'aro* (*ha'aro* is a tree), 1,000,000; and ten *raurau ni ha'aro* are *e ahusia*, 10,000,000. The people say they never needed in practice a larger numeral term, as they never prepared for a feast more than ten million nuts, and so they did not go any further. The word *ahusia* is from *ahu*, *to pile up*; the past participle, *piled up*.

Ulawa *apāi niu* is 10,000 coconuts.

Saa *rau i helu* the same.

In Ulawa *qela* has the same meaning as in Arosi.

3. *Banana-shoots for planting:*

Counting by the usual system up to ten, which is *hara* instead of *tangahuru*; ten *hara* are *umuumu*, 100. No further terms.

4. *Sago-palm fronds for thatch:*

Ten haha fronds are ta'i haaniao (ao, *sago palm*); ten haaniao are 'arangi, 100. Counting after this follows that for yams.

5. *Pigs, dogs:*

Counted one by one with the ordinary numerals up to ten, ta'i haga; ten haga are nahomera; ten nahomera are hagahaga, 1,000, and there counting ceased.

6. *Opossums:*

Counted up to ten, which is rama; ten rama are 'arangi.

7. *Fish:*

Counted up to ten, which is batai; ten batai are 'arangi.

8. *Eels:*

Counted up to five, which is hasiwaro hasiaba (E), waro (W); two of these, hasiwaro (E), warobubu (W), 10; ten hasiwaro are bohitanga, 100.

9. *Breadfruit:*

Counted by pairs: eta, *one pair*; e rua, *two pairs*; five pairs are ta'i to'i; 10 to'i are tangahuru i to'i. In West Arosi they are counted as yams; some use dodo'i for ten.

10. *Dogs' teeth:*

Dogs' teeth riho ri hori (*large*) and mwarau, surahu, tagai'ura (*small*) are counted, the former by pairs and the latter by fours; in each case the unit is called ta'i abe. Ten abe are a maaru, 40 teeth or 20. Ten maaru are 'arangi. Ten 'arangi are dohu, 4,000. Ten dohu are 'uma, 40,000 or 20,000. In East Arosi ten abe of the large teeth, 20 teeth, may be called aharara. In West Arosi surihata may be used for maaru if the teeth are used for sacrifice to a ghost.

11. *Bats' teeth:*

Riho roge, *bats' teeth* are counted by fours, the unit being abe; ten abe are maaru; ten maaru are 'arangi. Bwau may be used instead of abe.

12. *Fish (porpoise) teeth:*

Riho i'a, i'a *fish-teeth* are counted by fours, the unit for which is abe. Ten abe are maaru. Two maaru are bwau. Ten maaru are 'arangi. Ten 'arangi are to'a ni i'a, 4,000. In East Arosi 'arangi may be omitted, and to'a ni i'a is then 400; aharara is used for 40 teeth. I'ahunu, 100,000 teeth.

13. *Shell money:*

This (ha'a) is strung, and four fathoms is the unit, called tahanga (properly, a fathom) or ha'a niata'e or ha'a mora. Ten tahanga are ita (40 fathoms); twenty-five tahanga (two and a half ita) are gagau; fifty tahanga (five ita) are susu aba (200 fathoms); ten ita are 'arangi ha'a (400 fathoms); ten 'arangi ha'a are wawaibe'o (4,000 fathoms); ten strings, each a fathom usually, are gari awara. In this, and in counting breadfruit, the Ulawa word for 10, awara, is used.

Special terms were used in counting other objects, e.g., birds, arrows, bowls of food at feasts, giant clams. It was once the custom, especially on Ugi and Three Sisters, to eat giant clams rather than pigs at great feasts, and tradition says hundreds were sometimes provided for a single feast; but the custom has died out, and with it the terms, though terms are known to have been used. Ten birds are a maaru, ten food-bowls a waiiau.

Classes of Objects

There is a tendency in Arosi to classify objects and use different words with each class. This is seen:

- (1) In the different varieties of possessive pronouns.
- (2) In the different ways of counting various sorts of objects.
- (3) In verbal prefixes to different classes of nouns, used with numerals referring to those nouns.
- (4) In nominal prefixes to different classes of nouns.
- (5) In nominal prefixes, of a slightly different sort.
- (6) In descriptive words of different classes of property.

(1) and (2) are not referred to in detail here. (3) The chief verbal prefixes are ta'e, here, sagu, wera.

Ta'e, *to go up, embark*, is used before numerals referring to the number of men in a canoe: ta'erua, *two*; ta'eoru, *three*, etc. (in Mota this is sage).

Here, *to hold*, is used before numerals referring to weapons (especially spears) and food: here rua 'oo, *two spears*; here rua 'uhi, *two yams*.

Sagu, *to sit*, is used before numerals referring to birds sitting on a tree or shot: sagu rua manu, *two birds*.

Wera may be different in origin but is similarly used before numerals relating to men: wera rua, wera tai, *two one*.

Oa is also used, of men sitting, before numerals: oa tahi, *one* (tahi is not otherwise used for one, except in a single phrase); oa rua, *two*; oa oru, *three*.

(4) The nominal prefixes are: abe, maa, kora, pwera, hua, maere. They are used as units in counting.

Abe (*body*) is used as a unit in counting spears, poles, trees, pigs, birds, cooked food: e siha abe (i manu)?, *how many birds?*

Ma'a (*face*) is used as a unit in counting matches, arrows, fish-hooks, stakes, flints, fishing-rods, houses, traps, slings, armlets, needles, paddles.

Kora is used as a unit in counting seeds, eggs, tubers, shells, nuts, or almost any round object; it is also prefixed to objects regarded as round, e.g., koraidaro, *the ankle bone*.

Pwera is used in the same way of all liquids - water, blood, sap, etc.

Hua is used like kora as a unit in counting round objects such as fruit, fish, stones, eggs, rafters, ridge-poles.

Maere is used of shoots of trees, flowers: e rua maere, *two flowers*

(5) Slightly different is the use of descriptive prefixes, themselves nouns, to different classes of nouns. Kora and hua are both so used of round objects: hua i i'a, *a fish*; hua i hau, *a stone*; kora i uhi, *Haliotis shell*; koreiporu, *a Bulimus shell*; kora i hau, *a skull*; kora i tete, *round end of a club*, etc.

Other words so used are 'ai, *a tree*; waro, *a creeper*; rau, *a leaf*, before the names of trees; henu, *a shell (with no shellfish inside*; kora, *if the mollusc is present*).

All these generic words tend to amalgamate with the specific words, and in many cases the single word is never used, but only the compound, e.g., dangi (*the sky*) is the real name of the murex shell (which has a sacred character) but it is never used without the prefix kora, kora-idangi. So 'ai which means a tree, and waro which means a creeper, are used with the specific names of trees and creepers, and very often only the compounds are used. There is a tendency to use i'a, *a fish*; manu, *a bird*; mwamwa, *an insect*, in the same way with specific names, as may be seen by consulting these words in the dictionary. An interesting use of this method of classification is that of rau, *a leaf*, before names of trees, rauponi, rauraha, etc., for exactly the same use is found in Mota, where no, *a leaf*, is prefixed to a number of names of trees and is inseparable from the word to which it is prefixed. The same use is found in Bauro.

This tendency to classify objects appears under different forms; all colours, for example, are prefixed by 'ome, *to see*: 'omemeramera'a, *redness*; and states of feeling by ahu or hau (probably the same word), *the mind or heart*.

(6) There are only two distinctive words throughout Arosi for classes of property: ruruunga for fruit-bearing trees, with which are included a tree used for setting bird traps; and bwenaa, for property in land. There is, in the east, no special word for property in animals, as in Mota. There is, however, a special word for property in fish-pools in a stream where the water has a dyke of stones to deepen it; property in such a pool is uruunga. In the west of Arosi, property in living creatures, such as pigs, turtles, or parrots, is called mwaamwaa.

It is obvious that there is in the language a strong tendency to classify objects and use special words to distinguish the classes, whether different numerical terms in counting different sorts of things (in children's games, too, there are different decimal systems for counting trees and other things); or different possessives for different categories of nouns; or different counting units with different sorts of objects; or different noun prefixes to objects evidently classified as round, long, liquid, etc.; or different words for different sorts of property; in all these the principle is the same. One writer considers Melanesian languages which show this tendency most strongly are those which are most unlike typical Melanesian; it is doubtful if this opinion has yet been proved true; but there can be no doubt of the importance in grammar of such a use, and of the value of evidence of this kind in classifying Melanesian languages. In Bauro there is perhaps more classification than in Arosi, and a most interesting example there is the use of masculine and feminine prefixes with names, pronouns, and nouns of relationship. Traces of this occur in Arosi, especially in the bush, where we and re are respectively masculine and feminine prefixes to names, just as wa and ka are in Bauro. In Mota a similar use is found. This should be added to the examples of classification given above.

C.2.2.iv. Possession

Melanesian languages have two methods of expressing possession with nouns, although they vary somewhat amongst themselves in field of application of each method. In certain cases, the marker of possession is suffixed immediately to the noun, in others it is added, not to the noun, but to a particle which may either precede or follow the noun.

In Arosi, *ama-gu, my father*, but *ruma agu, my house*. The choice between which form is used rests on an answer to the question: is the object possessed alienable or inalienable? It is in the application of the rule, the decision as to what is alienable and what is inalienable that the languages differ amongst themselves. In most Melanesian languages, *my child* is considered inalienable: in Gela, *dale-nggu, my child*, but in Arosi the relationship is considered alienable: *na gare a-gu, my child*. Within the class of alienables, there may be further subdivisions into, e.g. general possession, food and drink and other sub-groups. In Arosi there is no further subdivision of this kind, no doubt largely because phonetic changes have reduced the particles for general and food possession to the same phonetic form.

The Melanesian system of indicating possession is really an example of what a school of psychology would call 'Gestalt', 'shape', 'pattern'. Goethe expressed the main idea of this long before Gestalt psychology came into being, when he wrote: "In every living being, what we call the parts are inseparable from the whole to such an extent that they can only be comprehended in and with the whole, and the parts cannot be taken as a measurement of the whole, nor the whole used as a measure of the parts."*

In Arosi there are two basic forms of possessive, suffixed and independent. 'Inalienable' possession is indicated by the suffixed forms, 'alienable' by the addition of the same suffixes to a particle *a-*, e.g. *a-gu, my*; *a-mu, your*, etc. The inalienable class consists of parts of a whole: parts of the body, parts of an object (as the 'bow' or 'stern' of a canoe, the branches, leaves and fruit of a tree), and most, but not all, kinship terms: *ama-gu, my father*; *ina-gu, my mother*; but not *gare, child*. In dictionaries, words which take suffixes of possession are usually indicated by a hyphen: *ama-*, and this practice is followed here, so that the absence of a hyphen in the entry indicates that the independent possessive is required.

A. Possession with Immediate Personal Reference

(i) Inalienable Possession

The nouns which take the possessive suffixes immediately and without possessive particles are (a) parts of a whole - parts of the body and parts of things, and (b) kinship terms, with certain exceptions.

* Goethe *Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, Band 39.7. From *Philosophische Studien*, 1784/5, quoted in Marjorie L. Hourd, *Education of the Poetic Spirit*, p.157, fn.53.

(a) 'abu-gu, *my blood*; meamea-mu, *your tongue*; maa-na, *his (or her eye(s))*. Non-singular suffixes automatically indicate a plurality of objects if the meaning requires it: maa-da, *their eyes* is unavoidable in terms of semantics, and plural indication is not necessary. Similarly bwau-ga is necessarily to be construed as *our heads*.

(b) Kinship terms: in some Melanesian languages all kinship terms represent inalienable possession and take direct suffixes; in others there are exceptions, especially in regard to relatives by marriage. In Arosi all kinship terms take direct suffixes except: mau, *uncle*, *nephew*, *niece*; uwai, *grandfather*, *grandson*; wae, *grandmother*, *granddaughter*; hasiwae, *grandmother*, *granddaughter*; mwane, *husband*; urao, *wife* and, kikii, *son or daughter of mau*. Relatives by marriage do take the suffixes. These others take a-: mwane, urao agu, *my husband*, *wife*. The term gare, *child*, takes either: garegu, *my child*, but also gare agu, and Fox states that some regard gare agu as applicable to a bought child, not a born child, but usage seems to be uncertain.

In some cases words that do not seem logically to belong to this subgroup take direct suffixes, e.g. benga-mu, *your bed*. The exact contents of the class must be learned by experience.

The category of 'preposition' as found in English grammar is not directly transferable to Arosi, for some 'prepositions' take the direct suffixes and are therefore morphologically to be regarded as nouns; others must be regarded as verbs because they take verbal suffixes. To the first belong nai muri-na, *behind (him) at (his) rear*; bahai-na, *under (him)*. Codrington gives (na) kua a ha'asusu bahaina i ruma, *the fowl laid under the house*; (na) hasia a teri hungana i bauna, *the tree fell on his head*. The verbal group is shown in baani-au, *from me*; tana-a, *to him*; bei-amou, *with you*.

(ii) Alienable Possession

The group of alienable nouns is subdivided into two subgroups - (i) food and drink, and objects intended for a person; and (ii) all other objects. This second group may be called 'general possession' and the base to which the suffixes are added is the morpheme a- as in gare a-gu, *my child*; ruma a-mu, *your house*. The first group, of food and drinks, has special possessives: in the third person they are based on 'a-, but in the first and second persons they consist of the normal suffix reduplicated, and in the singular -a is suffixed to this form: gugua, *my*, etc. The list is given in the table of Pronominal Forms (p.65). These possessives also have the peculiarity that the

first and second persons precede the noun, whereas all others follow it, e.g. *gugua wai*, *my drinking water*, but *wai 'ana*, *his drinking water*. It should be noted that omission of the glottal stop here would imply that the food was a mere possession, not for use.

There is an extended use of this possessive. An object that does not belong to, but is intended for a person, is marked by the use of the 'ana form: *o'o agu*, *my spear*, but *gugua o'o*, *a spear to kill me with*. This usage is found sporadically amongst Melanesian languages, including Arosi.

The forms here given are used only if the object possessed is singular. If they are plural, a suffix *-i* is added to the possessive: *gare agu'i*, *my children*; *noni amu'i*, *your people*. The pluraliser *mwani* may or may not be present, and the form of the nm depends on the syntactic situation: *(na mwani) buruada'i*, *their lamps*. The suffix *-i* is found also in Gela (Florida), but there it is limited to non-personal nouns. In Arosi it does not have this limitation. The initial glottal stop points to an earlier *ki*, which is a plural marker in parts of Malaita (Lau, *na mwane gi*, *men*). The use of this same *-i* as the marker of a non-personal plural object of a verb (*omesi-a*, *see him*; *omesi-raau*, *see them (people)*; *omesi-'i*, *see them (things)*) has been already noted in C.1.iii above. An Arosi example of its use with a possessive is seen in *na dora ngaungau ana'i*, *his tables*.

The independent possessives are used with abstract nouns in this language as well as with those indicating concrete possessions: *'ari-ha ana*, *his going, his journey*. A contrast in nominalisations may be observed in the pair: *taro-ha ameu*, *our message (what we say)* and *taro-ha'i ameu*, *a message about us*.

A final *-a* may be added to the *agu* series (*agua* etc.) without change of meaning.

The third set of possessives are formed by adding the same suffixes to a root *na-*, which would seem to be deictic in nature and probably to be identified with the *na* which indicates backward reference (C.2.2.ii. above). The *na-* set has two uses: (a) emphatic and (b) predicative.

- (a) *na nei nai haaua nana ai ha'a-rua-nia tanaa*
the one-who shall have his-own shall make-two-of-it to-him
'to the one who has, more will be given' (Mark 4:25)

i'ameu meu haaua i hereho nameu huni mei haa
we we do-it thing our-own that we-shall do
'we have only done our duty' (Luke 17:18)

- (b) namou i hourana God, *Yours is the kingdom of God* (Luke 6:20)
 namua i hourana, *thine is the kingdom* (Matthew 6:13)

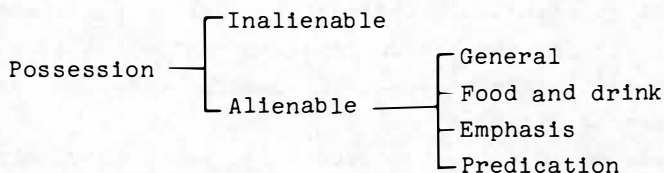
It is possible to use the na- forms also to indicate destination of an object:

'oi abu'i araara nunu i 'abe hereho namua
don't carve shape of body (of) thing for-yourself
'do not make yourself any carved image'.

Still a fourth set of possessives rests on a base ia- and these express the product of an action, the outcome of work: iana Araha naani, *his-work the Lord this, this is the Lord's doing* (Matthew 21:24). To this would correspond nana i noni naani, *this is the man's doing*, if the actor is a common noun. But the real existence of ia- as a distinct form appears in iraaui ia-mu-'i, *they were yours* = ia + mu + 'i pluraliser. Again in na hereho hako agu'i iamu'i, *all my things are yours*; na heinagu ni ia-gu-a, *this seat is mine*; na hereho si a o'a mau iamu, *that thing remains still your own* (Acts 5:4); 'ai'a noni beiraaui a 'unua huni i hereho ana'i huni iana, *not a man among-them said that his things (wer) his own* (Acts 4:32).

Here the meaning of 'predicative' crosses with the original meaning of *work of a person*.

The various types of possessive in Arosi summarised in the following diagram:



B. Possessive Relationship Between Nouns

Section A has dealt with the matter of expressing personal possession: *mine, yours, theirs*, etc. The relationship involved in *A's B*, *the man's hat*, *the boy's foot*, etc., where two nouns are involved, is somewhat different. There are several ways in indicating such relationships in Arosi.

(1) $N_1 + N_2$: 'uri pipira, *skin of bat*; 'uri ba'ewa, *skin of shark, sharkskin*. These combinations answer to the 'inalienable' possession of the preceding section: 'uri pipira, *skin bat*, is parallel to 'uri-na, *skin-its*. As the suffix is added to the simple noun, so the second

noun is added to the first - not orthographically (or at least there is no reason to do so) but syntactically. This is why the object possessed precedes the possessor.

(11) $N_1 + \begin{bmatrix} i \\ n \end{bmatrix} + N_2$: two nouns joined by the relators *i* or *ni*, *of*, between which there does not seem to be any meaning difference, *gare i noni*, *child of man*; *gare i maa*, *pupil* (lit. *child*) *of eye*; *madora i dangi*, *time of day*. These nouns seem to belong to the part-whole subgroup, and perhaps *ni* forms are just a little more separate: *bwara ni haka*, *sail of boat*; *dangi ni mamaro*, *day of rest* (as against the above *time of day* which is inherent in the day, while *rest* is not).

If the possessed noun takes the suffixes, they will be used with suffixes also in the noun-possessive phrase, i.e. *the child's father* will become *his-father the child*, but the *nm* used with *child* will be the non-focus *i*: thus, *ia amana i gare*. This is normal Melanesian practice except for the *nm*'s. Similarly, *the man's foot* is *na 'uwana i noni*. If the possessor is a named person the *nm* is omitted: *na 'uwana Pita*, *Peter's foot*. In the non-singular, the appropriate possessive suffix replaces the *-na* of the above examples, e.g. *na ahu-da i noni*, *men's hearts*: *noni* needs no pluraliser because obviously one man does not have more than one heart, and *-da*, *their* must refer to more than two persons. If two men were involved the form would be *na ahu-daru i noni*, *the heart-of-them-two man*.

Either element of the phrase may be expanded: *na ringe-na inei a totoro*, *the voice of one crying out*; *na 'uwa-da-'i nei rau*, *their-feet those-who are coming, the feet of those who are coming* (for *inei*, *nei*, *one who*, see C.2.3.iii below). The final *-i* of *'uwada'i* indicates the plural of objects possessed, as already explained. In all these instances the object possessed precedes the possessor.

When the set of alienable possessives is required, several constructions are possible. The relator *ni* as well as *i*, have been mentioned above; it is possible also to use the *ana* form after the possessed, which here precedes the noun: *na hako ana James*, *James' ship*; *na ha'ate hako ana'i noni ni*, *all this man's words*. If the possessor is non-singular, the required form of the *ana* series will be used: *mwaeraha adaau i Wango*, *the chief of the Wango people*. In the *ana'i* form the objects are plural; in the *adaau* forms the owners are plural.

It needs to be remembered, however that here as elsewhere native idiom must be observed. In some cases the Arosi equivalent to a possessive noun phrase is not a noun phrase itself, e.g. *orisia amana*,

in place of his father, in loco parentis is literally *ori-si-a, replace-trans.-him his-father*.

Possessive constructions in Arosi may be tabulated in the following manner: R = 'possessive root' (a-, 'a-); s = suffix:

A. N_1 only:

1. N + s: inalienable ownership: *ia ama-gu, my father*.
2. N + R + s: *na ruma agu(a), my house - alienable possession*.
3. $(R + s)^2 + N$ for food and drink: *gugua hereho-i ngau, my food*.
In the third person the construction reverts to the preceding:
hereho-i-ngau 'ana, his food.

B. $N_1 + N_2$. Possession between two nouns.

1. Inalienable: $N_1 + N_2$: *'uri misu, dog's fur*, non-human; but for human owner: $(N_1 + s) + i + N_2$: *amana i gare, the child's father*.
2. Part-whole relationship: $N_1 + i/ni + N_2$: *a hunga ni ruma, the house-top*; *a gare i noni, the man's child* is classed here if *gare-na* is not used.
3. $N_1 + (R + s) + N_2$: *mwaeraha adaau i Wango, the chief of the Wango*.

Note: 1. Plurality of objects possessed is indicated by *-i*: *na mwane hereho agu'i, my things*.

2. The forms in A.3 above, if applied to two nouns, are the same as there noted, except that *'ana* replaces *ana* as the linking element: *na maho-i-ngau 'ada'i gare, the children's food*.

3. A possessive in the predicate, e.g. *this book is mine* as against *this is my book* is treated differently: see C.2.3.i, end.

C.2.2.v. Syntax of the Adjunct: A Summary

The combination of adjuncts may reach a considerable degree of complexity if all possible elements are present. The following table gives a summary of the various combinations available, although it would be very rare to find any real degree of complexity in the spoken language. People prefer simpler statements even if a longer utterance results. However, the various adjuncts when combined do so in a fixed sequence, and the table serves to show not only what complexities are possible, but the order in which the elements occur.

Three sub-groups are given: 1. sequences in which the noun has nothing before it but a noun-marker (nm) and the adjuncts come after; 2. sequences in which the adjuncts precede the noun, with or without

a noun-marker; 3. sequences in which elements both precede and follow the nucleus noun.

1. Noun with following adjuncts:

nm + N:	na hereho, <i>a thing</i>
nm + N + adj:	na hereho goro, <i>a good thing</i>
nm + N + poss:	na hereho agu(a), <i>my thing</i>
nm + N + D:	na hereho ni, <i>this thing</i>
nm + N + A + poss:	na hereho goro agu(a), <i>my good thing, a good thing of mine</i>
nm + N ₁ + A + p + N ₂ :	na taroha goro ana i goroha, <i>his good news of peace</i>
nm + N + A + cpsn ± d:	na hereho goro riu (si), <i>that better thing</i>

2. Noun with preceding adjuncts:

1. numeral: e siha huai bread? *how many loaves of bread?*
e rima huai bread mana rua i'a, *five loaves of bread and two fish.*
e tai aba, *one part, one share.*
2. adjectival: na gere gare, *the young boy.*
3. groups: na tarai i noni, *some people.*
adona i hasi'ei, *every tree* (see below, C.2.3.iii, end).
4. numeral classifier: wera rua noni, *two men.*
werawera tai noni, *one by one.*

3. Noun with preceding and following adjuncts:

num + N + poss:	e rua hereho ana, <i>his two things</i>
num + N + A + p:	e rua hereho goro ana, <i>his two good things</i>
nm + pl + N (nonpersonal):	na mwani hereho, <i>the things</i>
(personal):	iraau na mwani mwaeraha, <i>the chiefs</i>
nm + pl + N + p:	na mwani hereho goro ana'i, <i>his good things</i>
nm + pl + N + A + clause + d:	na mwani hereho goro ra taisada ini, <i>the good things that are sufficient</i>
nm + pl + N + A ₁ + A ₂ ± d:	na mwani hereho goro rago (ini), <i>all these good things</i>
nm + pl + N + A ± d ₁ ± d ₂ :	na mwani hereho rago na isi, <i>all those good things there</i>

Other types will be found occasionally, but these represent the most common.

In some cases the arrangement of orders in the phrase is not quite the same as in the above patterns nor as in English; equivalents for *all*, *rago* and *hako* may at times be synonymous, but at other times may both occur in the one utterance, *hako* following the verb in a manner that

seems pleonastic: *nai watea hako tana'o i mwane herego rago ini, I will give you all these things*. Hako, again, is usual after pronouns: *iraaau hako, all of them, they all*, where it is preferred to rago. A third word for *all*, *ado-*, with pronominal suffixes, is treated in C.2.3.iii.

C.2.3. Noun Substitutes

The term noun substitute (NS) is applied here to morphemes which may replace or represent N in NP as subject or object of a sentence, or in some other part of the phrase. These are generally referred to in grammars as pronouns. Most of the morphemes concerned have been treated incidentally in the preceding sections, especially in terms of their syntactic functions. For these see C.1.i(a) (p.24) and C.1.i(b) (p.25). The present section seeks chiefly to gather up what has been said previously and arrange the facts in summary matrices. Items which have been previously included under other headings can then be separated out; those which have not been so treated can be individualised and their uses explained.

It will be well to begin by presenting a formalised analytical table of such Arosi morphemes as may be properly called pronouns. Other types of NS will be presented in the two following subsections.

C.2.3.i. Pronouns

Arosi pronouns differ to some extent from those of most European languages in several features: (1) They do not distinguish gender in the 3rd person - there is no formal equivalent to *he* and *she* in English, as any system of gender is absent from the language. (2) They possess a dual number as well as a singular and plural: *they two* differs from *they*. (3) In the first person non-singular a distinction is made between an 'inclusive' *we = you and I* and an 'exclusive' *we = he (or they) and I*. These facts have been mentioned in greater detail earlier. There are also suffixed forms of the pronouns.

Analytical Table of Arosi Pronouns

Below is presented in matrix form a table of pronouns in Arosi in all the shapes they may assume.

Prefatory Note

The Arabic numerals 1, 2 and 3 mark person. The plus (+) symbol following is used in two ways: (i) to link the different persons:

1 + 2 = 1st person and second, *you and I*, or two identical persons:
 2 + 2 = *you and you, you two*; 3 + 3 = *(s)he and (s)he, they two*; (ii)
 with no figure following, but bracketed with a preceding figure, an
 indefinite addition is indicated, i.e. a plural: (2+) = *you, plural*;
 (3+) = *they*; 1 = (3+), *I and they*, i.e. exclusive plural of first
 person; 1 + (2+) = *I and you (pl)*, inclusive plural of first person,
we, incl.

Abbreviations:

'Independent' are the cardinal pronouns, used in isolation from other
 elements. N.suffix are the forms of the pronouns used as suffixes to
 nouns, in a possessive sense. V.suffix are the forms added to verbs to
 indicate object. Food & Drink are the possessives used before words
 indicating food and drink. V:NF are the person indicators used before
 verbs in the non-future tense. V:F are the person indicators used
 before verbs in the future tense, along with the homophonous imperative.

MATRIX OF AROSI PRONOUNS

INDEPENDENT		SUFFIXED		SEPARATE		
Person		N.suffix	V.suffix	Food & Drink	V:NF	V:F
1	inau	-gu	-au	gugua	nau	wai
1 + 2	igara	-garaa	-garaaa	gagaraa	gara	garai
1 + (2+)	igia	-gaa	-gaau	gagaau	ga	gai,rai
1 + 3	i'amiria	-miria	-miria	mimiria	miri	mirii
1 + (3+)	i'ameu	-mami	-meu	memeu	meu	meui
2	i'oe	-mu	-'o	mumua	'o	'oi
2 + 2	('a)murua	-murua	-murua	mumurua	murua	murui
(2+)	i'amou	-mou	-mou	momou	mou	moi
3	iaa	-na	-a	'ana	a	ai
3 + 3	irarua	-darua	-rarua	dadarua	raru	rarui
(3+)	iraau	-da	-ra,-'i	'adaau	rau	rai

A componential analysis of the above matrix shows the following basic
 structures:

A. Cardinal Pronouns

A set of basic pronominal roots, differentiating only singular and
 plural, but showing the inclusive-exclusive distinction as one of the
 basic elements:

Sing. 1. -u-; 2. -'o-; 3. -a

Non-sing. incl. ga-; 1. excl. -'a; 2. -u-; 3. ra-.

It is noteworthy that the non-singular exclusive may be first person or second; the distinction depends on a superadded element.

To these are added elements marking number:

Singular Ø

Inclusive: dual: incl. -ra; excl. -miri; 2. -muru; 3. ru(a)

Plural: incl. -au; excl. -eu; 2. -ou; 3. -au.

In certain cases there are prefixial elements, i- and -n-, the first personifying, the second demonstrative, limited in this case to the first person singular: *person-this-I*.

B. Possession

A set of suffixed forms added immediately to Class I nouns and used with Class II nouns when added to a base a- for general and 'a- for food and drink possession in the 3rd person. The basic suffixes are: 1st. -g- (incl.); -mi- ~ -ma- (excl.); 2nd. -mu-, and 3rd. -n- (sing.), -d- (non-sing.). In the first and second persons food possessives are formed by partial reduplication of the general possessive in 1st and 2nd persons, with 'a- in 3rd person only.

The working of the system depends on interaction of these elements in various ways.

The manner of these interactions has already been set out in preceding sections:

1. Noun suffixes expressing possession inalienable or alienable (C.2.2.iv),
 2. Food and drink possession (C.2.2.iv),
 3. Preposed morphemes indicating the subjects of verbs (C.1.i(a)).
- Those that remain to be dealt with are therefore only 1. independent pronouns and 2. object suffixes to verbs.

1. Independent Pronouns are used in Arosi for emphasis; they are not necessary for grammatically correct statements; it is the short forms that fulfil this role. Thus 'o 'ari nigeta? *you went when? = when did you go?* is perfectly grammatical and normally used. If the speaker says 'i'oe 'o 'ari nigeta?, he is being emphatic: *as for you, when did you go?* (as against others). In these cases both long and short forms are used together. The long does not substitute for the short, because the latter is a part of the predicate, not a subject. Inau au goro, *I am good*. In such an utterance there is always a contrast implied: I in

contrast to others am good. That is why it is best to treat the short forms as part of the VP and not the NP: *inau / au goro; i'oe / 'o 'ari nigeta?* It is then clear why the short forms must still appear after an NP subject:

subject		predicate
<i>iraaau na mwani noni</i>	//	<i>rau 'ari</i>
<i>the men</i>		<i>(they) went</i>

Precisely the same principle governs the other pronoun forms to be studied.

2. **Pronouns suffixed to verbs:** these are parts of the object which itself is part of the VP. They appear only when the verb has an object, and are preceded by the transitive suffixes dealt with in C.1.iii. The uses of these forms can now be discussed in more detail, and the reason for treating them part of the verbal object made clear:

(a) Suffixed pronouns indicate the object of the verb:

au ome-si-'o, I see you

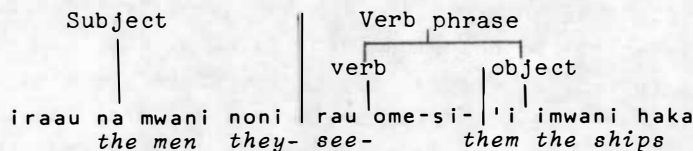
Structurally the division of this sentence into NP = \emptyset and VP is clear; VP is then subdivisible as indicated above: *ome-*, verb base; *-si-*, transitive suffix and *-'o*, object.

(b) If the object is an NP it follows the pronoun indicator, expanding and explaining it:

au ome-si-a i noni, I see the man

Here the VP is divisible as above with the difference that final *-a* is *him*: to the question, *who is he?* is given the explanation *i noni, the man*, using the non-focus article. The whole utterance is then literally: *I see him (he is) the man.*

(c) If the object as well as the subject is a full NP, the whole sentence then becomes



So much that is implied in European languages is spelled out explicitly in a Melanesian language such as Arosi.

C.2.3.ii. Deictics

Deictics as Noun Adjuncts were treated in C.2.2.ii; but as in English *someone* may replace *some man* or *some woman*, and *this one* may replace *this man* or some other N + deictic, or *these say* may refer back to a previously defined group, so in Arosi certain deictics may replace the noun to which logically they refer, e.g. *naani i ha'atora, this is the law*; *iateu naani?, who is this?* The limitation on these uses is that only the longer forms of deictics as listed previously may be so used, because the one-syllable forms *ni*, *si*, *na* are enclitics and so are ruled out on phonetic grounds. The commonest are *naani* and *naasi* and these may appear either as subjects or objects in the sentence. Examples: *iatei naasi?, who is that?*; *e taha naani?, what is this?*; *naani a mo'o na, this is the person (referred to)*; *naani gare agu(a), this is my child*; *naani a gare na ha'ate 'inia, this is the child I spoke of*; *iana araha naani, this is the chief's doing* (for *iana* see C.2.2.iv.A, end); *'ai'a iia naani a mo'o na?, isn't this the person spoken of?* Linked with a following *nei* (C.2.3.iii): *naasi na nei nai boi, that is the one who will come*.

As shown in these examples, the order of elements is not fixed: N + NS and NS + N are both acceptable, provided that the non-focus form of article is used with the noun, whatever its position: *i ha'atora naani, the law is this* and *naani i ha'atora, this is the law*. In each case the topic is *naani* and *i ha'atora, the law* is comment.

However, owing to the fact that the deictics may also serve to indicate place (see Relators, p.74), the word order may affect meaning: *i noni naani, the man is here*, but *naani i noni, this is the man*. Context may have sometimes to provide a decision.

C.2.3.iii. Interrogatives

The interrogative NS in Arosi are two in number: *tei*, *who?*, and *taha*, *what?* They present no morphological difficulties, but their syntax needs attention. The former is personal and is therefore preceded by the personal article *ia*: *iatei*, or if plural, by the plural substitute, *iratei*. As there is no plural form in English, context must here be regarded: *ia tei na boi no'a?, who has come?*; *iratei rau boi no'a?, who have come?* The morpheme *taha* is non-personal and is therefore preceded by a non-personal article, in practice usually *e*: *e taha naasi?, what is that?, what sort of a thing is that?* In a possessive context the root form *tei* is used with the normal possessive construction required

in the given instance: *na nunu-na tei?*, *whose shadow?*, lit. *his shadow who?*, with omission of *ia*; or after a relator: *na usuusu 'inia tei?*, *a writing about whom?*, *whose signature?*

In object position there is no reversal of the order as in English, *whom did you see?*; Arosi says *you saw whom*: *'o omesia tei*, *you saw-him who*. The requisite transitive suffix is required as always in Arosi: *iia na haaua i taha?*, *what did he do?*; *'o sibania tei?*, *whom are you looking for?* If the interrogative is plural, the plural object pronoun will precede it in final position, but *ira-* is not required in addition: *nai omesi-raau tei?*, *whom (pl.) shall I see?* If the reference of the interrogative is not to the third person, the fact will appear in the object suffix: *iamou mou 'unua 'ini-au ia-tei?*, *you say about-me who?*, *who do you say that I am?* (Matthew 16:15).

Although primarily NS, the interrogatives can also be used as NA. Three examples will illustrate this usage:

1. *iatei beiamou*, *who of you?*, *which one of you?*: *iatei beiamou ta ora ana?*, *who of you has a canoe?*, lit. *which you a canoe his?*

2. *iatei + e + N*: *iatei e urao*, *what woman?*, *which woman?*: *iatei e urao na ha'a ana e tai tangahuru?*, *what woman (which woman) has ten pieces of money*, *ha'a* being a shell which is ground to make native money, and *e tai tangahuru*, *ten* is used adjectivally after it, linked by *e* numeral conjunction, (see C.2.2.iii).

3. *nahei*, *which?*: *nahei i ha'atora na raha?*, *which is the great commandment?* (Matthew 22:36).

C.2.3.iv. Indefinites

The title 'indefinites' refers to morphemes that do not refer to a particular person or thing. English examples would be *any*, *anyone*, *nobody*, *someone*, *something* and numbers of others.

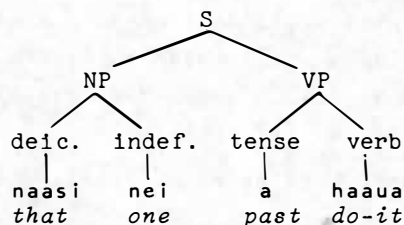
The basic Arosi morphemes on which are built phrases indefinite in their reference is *nei*, which is not used entirely by itself, but in connection with the various forms of the articles, giving *ta nei*, *na nei*, *i nei*. There is some uncertainty as to the spellings of these compound phrases; in the Gospels, *tanei* and its plural *tarainei* are written as single words, but *na nei* is not so written, even though *i nei* usually is. Here the elements have been kept separate, except in the case of *tarainei*, in which *rai* does not have a separate existence.

The morpheme *nei* and its compounds will be discussed first, then *ta* and its compounds. The third section will deal with a number of miscellaneous indefinites such as equivalents for *each*, *every*, *all*.

The morpheme *nei*, which is equivalent roughly to 'indefinite reference', does not occur alone, but in conjunction with an article, giving *e nei*, *na nei*, *i nei*.

E nei is the most indefinite of the phrases. The idea of it is *anyone at all*: *e nei nai ahutora*, *if anyone is angry*; *e nei na toheau*, *if anyone rejects me, anyone who rejects me*. It is not common as *na nei*, which is the most usual form of expression.

Na nei is usually equivalent to *whoever*, *anyone who*, and is usually followed by the verbal marker *nai*. It is not always involved in a relative clause, but may appear in simple sentences: *iia nei*, *this one*, as in *iia nei a haaua*, *this is the one who did it*, and *iia nei* could be the answer to a question such as *iatei a haaua?*, *who did it*. Similarly an answer could be *naasi nei haaua*, *that is the one who did it*. The English setting is again a relative clause but not the Arosi. In the last instance the Arosi sentence in tree diagram would be



leaving the verb unanalysed at this stage.

Other examples: *na nei ai rongoa i ha'ate agu'i*, *whoever hears my words*; *na nei ai gonohia i wai ni ai mae*, *whoever drinks this water will die*.

Like the interrogatives, *nei* when used in the possessive relationship loses its article: *na ringe-na i nei na totoro*, *the voice of one who cries*: see further under *innei* below. In the object position similarly: *onaia nei na rarasanga'ini'a*, *like one who sows*.

Nei may be negative: *'ai'a nei*, *no one, nobody*: *'ai'a nei a boi no'a*, *no one has come*; *'ai'a nei beiamou*, *nobody among you*. It may also be used in the plural, the number being shown by the *sm* before the verb: *na nei rau hunioo*, *those that are wise*: the number of people is indicated by *rau*; *mwani* is not used. The last example but one shows that *nei* may also be used with an adjunct phrase following (*beiamou*, *among you*).

I nei seems to represent the personal form that might be expected as ia nei, and the latter is not found: i nei nai ha'ate, ia mo'o naasi na ahutotou, *whoever speaks will be sorry*.

In the object position nei is paralleled by a personal suffix to the verb to which it is the object:

na nei wai omesia wai watea tana-a
whoever I-shall see-him I-shall give-it to-him
'I shall give it to whoever I see'

The indefinite ta nei and the shorter form ta may be treated together.

Ta is really a form of the numeral tai, *one*. It is used as a NA in ta ruma, *a house, any house* (unspecified); ta gege i abaaba, *one side of the slope*; ta taha, *anything* (lit. *a what*): rai abwa'i haaua ta taha 'ini 'ariha, *they are not to take anything for their journey*; ta ruma, *some oil*. Arosi does not make the distinction found in English between 'count nouns' and 'mass nouns': in English *an oil* would be impossible. Frequently ta maho, *a thing* is used similarly, and e mareho is almost synonymous but does not seem to be used with ta.

Where groups are contrasted, ta may indicate a group: e wera rima... ma ta wera rima..., *five (people)...and the other five*, as in e wera rima beirau rau hunioo ma ta wera rima ro'u rau mahoo, *five of them were wise and the other five were foolish* (Matthew 25:2).

In combination with nei, ta nei is common, and usually written in the literature as tanei. It is hard to determine a distinction between ta nei and na nei although there is a clear difference between ta and na. It would seem that where the implied answer to a question such as *Is anyone..?* is *no, probably not*, ta nei is preferred, but it is hard to decide the issue.

Used alone, ta nei is a NS, functioning pronominally: ta nei a boi, *someone has come, a certain person has come*; gasi tanei a haaua tanaa hereho-i-ngau, *perhaps someone has given him food*; tanei e rua gare ana, *someone a two sons his, i.e. a certain man had two sons*. As a noun-adjunct, ta nei is linked to the noun by a following ni: tanei ni noni tauaro, *a certain workman*. Followed by a negative it is *nobody*: tanei 'ai'a omesia, *nobody saw him*; also 'ai'a i noni a tauaro, *nobody is working*, which may form a substitute for ta nei 'ai'a a tauaro, but note the non-focus article i with noni. *The one...the other...* is expressed by a second ta nei balancing a first: ta nei a rara sa ma ta nei a haa'igoni, *one sows and another reaps*. Like na nei this phrase

also can be used with a following adjunct: *ta nei beia mou, somebody from your group*. *Ta nei* can occupy object position without modification: *inau bwa'i itaa tanei nai boi beiau, I will not reject anyone who comes to me*.

There are two compounds of *ta*: *tarai* and *tarai nei* which function as plurals. The distinction seems to be that *tarai* is adjectival and *tarai nei* is pronominal. Thus *tarai dangi, some days, tarai 'adoma'i, some thoughts*. If *tarai nei* is to be linked with a noun, *ni* serves to link them: *tarai ni kora, some seeds*. But *tarai nei* may be preceded by *iraau, they* in reference to people: *iraau tarai nei, some of them*, and used twice refers to *some...others...*: *tarai nei ra totoro oani, tarai nei ra totoro oasi, some cried out this, others cried out that*. In the object position it is used without the non-focus article, but the verb governing it carries the plural object marker *-i*: *rau rabusi'i tarai nei ma rau ngahui'i tarai nei, they beat some and killed others*. *Ta* alone is least common, except in the form of *ta... 'ai'a, one...not = no, none*: *ta i'a 'ai'a beiau, a fish not with-me, i.e. I have no fish; ta hereho 'ai'a beia, he has nothing*.

Tanei, pl. *tara'inei* has wide uses as NS: *tanei adarua, one of the two; tanei adarua e rongoa, one them heard him; a haa tanaa tanei e rima ma tanaa tanei e rua, he gave one of them five and the other two*. If the forms are used as NA, they are linked to the second component of the phrase by *ni*: *tara'inei ni gare, some of the children*.

Where there is a possibility or implication of a chance that nobody may perform the act mentioned, *tanei* seems to be preferred for *anyone*; where there seems to be a likelihood of response, *na nei* or *inei* seems to be preferred: *tanei ai rubu'o, if anyone hits you (nobody may!); na nei ai rubu'o, whoever hits you; tanei ai 'irisia i suuriau, if anyone follows me* (Mark 8:34) implies that perhaps nobody will.

An example of several uses of the *ta* forms appears in the translation of Matthew 25:29:

'inia rai watea tanaa tanei ta hereho na beia ma
for they-shall give to-him the-one a thing that with-him and
gui to'ora rago, ma na nei 'ai'a ta hereho na beia
then-he-shall have a-lot, and whoever not a thing that with-him,
rai haaua baania ma'ata na hereho na beia.
they-shall take from-him even the thing that with-him.
i.e. 'For to him who has shall be given, and he shall have much, but
from him who has not shall be taken away even what he has.

The chief remaining NS can be listed as follows:

1. *ado-*, *each*, *every*, *all* is functionally a noun, taking suffixed inalienable possessives: *ado-na*, *each one*, *adona i kora*, *each seed*. This example shows that when a noun is the complement of *ado-*, the non-focus article is used as a link ('*i kora*) *adona i noni*, *every man*. Plural reference is then shown by the pronoun preceding the verb; but the suffix *-da*, 3rd pl. is used also: *adoda i noni rau omesiau*, *everybody saw me*; *nau omesiraaui adoda i noni*, *I saw everybody*. Reduplication gives a distributive sense as always: *adoadoga*, *each of us* (incl.): *iia 'ai'a ò'a ha'atau baania adoadoga*, *he does not live far from each* (or any) *of us* - but note the 3rd sing. suffix *-a* on *baani-a*, classing *ado-* as functionally a noun. Used as an NS, *ado-* is coupled with *nei*, *that one who*; *adona nei*, *whoever*, *all who*: *adona nei nai hinihinia*, *everyone who shall believe him*; *adona nei nai boi*, *a mo'o si nai haaua i dora ana*, *everyone who comes will get his place there*.

Where definite numeration is involved, the numeral classifier can similarly be reduplicated: *wera*, *human being* > *werawera tai*, *each one* (*persons separately*): *iia soiraaui werawera tai mai beia*, *he called each one of them to him*.

2. *'etea*, *different*, *another*: *iraaui 'ari wou no'ai omaa 'etea*, *they went to another village*; *a noni 'etea*, *a different man*; *a kora 'etea*, *a different (kind of) seed*. There seems to be little difference between this word and *hei'etei*, as in *iia na ha'ataaria wou i noni hei'etei*, *he sent (yet) another man*, although this does seem to imply another item of the same kind.

3. *hako*, *rago*, *many*, *all*. *A rago inei rau 'arihuraaui*, *many are called*, as against *e gogota*, *few*: *e gogota ra omesigihiraaui*, *few are chosen*. Like every descriptive, *rago* follows its noun: *iraaui a noni rago*, *all the people*. *Hako* may be used similarly, but it is often used also with a verb: *ai hako raurau ma meu hora wou*, *(the time) will be over quickly and we shall flee away* (Psalms 90:10); *hako i hereho ini*, *all these things* (again with non-focus article); *i wai a rago no'ai dora si*, *there was plenty of water in that place*. Sometimes the plural marker *mwani* is sufficient to express total inclusion: *na mwani hereho* = *na hereho hako*, *all things*.

4. *gogota*, *a few* was illustrated in the preceding paragraph; it is an enumerative and therefore is preceded by *e*, and it may be used for any number up to about 20. Thus: *e gogota moi na siba sadoia*, *few only will find it* (Matthew 7:14).

5. *maho*, *thing* is used vaguely as *what*, *whatever*, e.g. *whatever he wished*: *ta maho a 'irisia*, *na maho a 'irisia*. Thus, *'oi ha'anongi tanaau 'inia i maho na 'o 'irisia*, *ask me for whatever you want*, and various derivative phrases are in use: *i maho nau 'irisia*, *what I want*; *mwani maho*, *whatever (pl.)*; the synonymous word *mareho* is used also: *e mareho nau 'irisia*, *whatever I want*.

C.2.4. Relators

A 'relator' is a morpheme that shows a relationship between two or more morphemes and groups of morphemes (phrases or clauses), and they thus correspond to what in traditional grammars have been called prepositions and conjunctions. The term and the method of treatment belong to Tagmemic Analysis,* and it is used here because it provides a means of gathering together these more or less miscellaneous 'parts of speech' that never seem quite at home in traditional grammatical statements. The treatment here adopted is a means of economy of statement.

The definition of relators and the 'relator axis' concept is best given in Longacre's words:

"Relator-axis clauses have a bipartite structure which consists of a subordinating conjunction, particle or phrase (the relator) followed by a sequence (the axis) which is structurally identical with (or a recognizable variant of) one or more clause types posited elsewhere. The relator may be a functional specialization of some clause level tagmeme. Thus, *when I first came here*, *where you went*, *on which I stand*, and *which I purchased yesterday* are all relator-axis clauses in English... As specialized functors, *when*, *where*, *on which*, and *which* serve to relate their clauses within the framework of an imbedding clause or phrase. Thus, *when I first came here he was gone* has on overall structure temporal-subject-predicate; the imbedded clause *when I first came here* manifests the first tagmeme (temporal) of the imbedding clause....

"Relator-axis clauses are similar to relator-axis (preposition) phrases. Typically, a prepositional phrase consists of a preposition plus a noun phrase....

"Thus, in comparing axis-related phrases and axis-related clauses the following parallelism is seen:

$$\frac{\text{preposition}}{\text{following noun phrase}} = \frac{\text{subordinator}}{\text{following clause}}."**$$

* See K.L. Pike, *Phonemics* (1947), E.A. Nida, *Morphology* (1949) and K.L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* 3 vols. (1954-60), all published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, first Ann Arbor and later Glendale, Calif., revised edition, Mouton's (1967), also R.E. Longacre, *Grammar Discovery Procedures* (Mouton, The Hague, 1964).

** R.E. Longacre *op.cit.* 37-8.

In the present treatment, it has seemed desirable to treat relator-axis phrases (prepositions) before relator-axis clauses (conjunctions) in order to maintain the treatment of NP before VP that has been observed in the immediately preceding sections.

The term 'relator', with its concomitant 'axis' has been used because there is no single category in Arosi answering to the English terms 'preposition', 'adverb' and 'conjunction'. Each of the groups consists of two types, simple and compound (or phrasal) relators. Simple relators are not further analysable, e.g. *i*, *location*; phrasal relators, like phrasal nouns (C.2.1.i(b)) consist of more than one element, e.g. *i hunga*, *on*, *over* much like the English phrasal preposition *on top of*. The phrasal relators may rest on a base that is nominal, as in the preceding example, or one that is verbal, e.g. *hura'a*, *out of* also *go outside*. In this case, as also e.g. in the simple *bei-*, *with*, also *to be partner*, *help*, it is difficult to decide which usage is primary. Whether the base is nominal or verbal can be determined from the form of the suffixes, e.g. *bei-au*, *with me*, taking the verbal suffixed pronouns, or *i hunga-na*, *on it*, taking the nominal suffixes.

In other cases again, the relation is more complex, e.g. *bahoi*, *on the other side of*, seems to be related in some way to *aba*, *half*, *place*, but also to *aho'i*, *return*, *go back*. Reference to the Dictionary will often make these cross-relationships clear; it is not the place of a grammar to do this.

In most grammars of Melanesian languages, the English classifications of prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions are retained. Since, however, Arosi does not recognise these divisions amongst relators, it seems to be better to treat them formally and not semantically. They will therefore be treated here as three formal types of relators: simple; compound (noun-based), and compound (verb-based).

1. Simple relators

Simple relators are few in number, but they enter also into compounds with noun-based phrasal relators. The simple relators are:

- (1) place: *i*, *nai*, *no'ai*

Of these, *i* is a pure locative, *at*, and it is the first element usually found with noun-based phrasal relators. Examples: *nau o'a i Heuru*, *I live at Heuru*; *iraau rai hora i Heuru*, *they will flee to Heuru*; *ia o'a i toro*, *he lives in the bush*; *boi i ini*, *come (to) here*. This is a relatively rare relator except in combination with others, as shown below; the other two are commoner. *Nai* and *no'ai* seem to be practically

synonymous; they both indicate *in* rather than *at*: *ia nai omaa, he is in the village*; *no'ai tarawa'a, in the beginning*; *ia no'ai ruma, he is in the house*; *nai ta dora, in a certain place, in some place*. These do not combine with nouns to form phrasal relators.

(ii) relationship in space: *horo*

This word in the form *goro* is very common in Mota and in other languages, but not so common in Arosi, where *bwarasi-* and *didusi-* are more frequent (phrasal relators; see below). The general idea is *over against, in opposition to*, e.g. *did horo, to build a shade against (the sun)* - *did* being a wall of partition, and the base of *didusi-a*, dealt with below. The status of *horo* in this language is uncertain, and Fox in the dictionary gives it no place. Bishop Patteson includes it in his work, giving *across* as *auru horo(a)*, and *cross over* as *uru horo(a)*. Both these phrases treat *horo* as a verb, which it never is in the Melanesian languages of the New Hebrides.

(iii) instrument: *'ini*

Although this relator is very common in Arosi, it is difficult to determine its status, for it frequently appears with a final *-a*, *'inia*, which would mark it as a verb. In regard to its occurrence, Fox states that *'ini* is "used with verbs with the suffixes *-nga'i*, *-ra'i*, *-ta'i*, *-ha'i*" and in this form it has already been treated here as a suffix of remoter transitivity (C.l.iii). An example is *na 'ari-ta'i-nia, he went away from him*.

Whatever the relationship between the suffix and *'ini*, the latter is very common as marking the instrument by which an act is done: *'ini mada, with a club*; *na rabusia 'ini mada, he hit me with a club*; but it is also possible to say *'inia mada*, which suggests that *'ini-* may really be verbal in nature rather than a simple relator. It may also answer to *concerning, on account of*: *na sae ra bwa'i hano 'inia i rangiana, the people will not go because of the rain*. In West Arosi there is a by-form *'ine*: see Dictionary.

Some relators not listed above are formally verbs, and the object pronoun of the verbal series is added to them, in some cases as immediate object and in others as anticipatory object, *bei-au, with me*; *tana-au, to me* are examples. Others are nouns and to them the endings of inalienable possession are added: *i muri-gu, behind me*; *i na'o-gu, in front of me*. This latter class belongs to the group of compound relators treated below; the former function as simple relators and

sometimes even as full verbs. The following is the list of the most usual verbal relators:

(a) *bei-* as a verb means *to be one with*, hence, *to be an ally, a partner, assist, help* (although there is also a noun *koa-na, partner*). Hence as a relator, *bei = with*, but shows its essentially verbal nature by adding the object pronoun suffixes: *ai o'a bei-amou, he will stay with you*.^{*} There are various extensions of this usage, e.g. *tanei no'ai bei-raau*, lit. *one in with-them, one of the group or crowd*. *Bei-a* also accompanies some verbs where English usage differs: *nongi bei-a, ask of him, beg of him (you must be WITH him to make the plea to him)*; *(ha'a)-wai-a bei-a, take him to (someone else)*; *siba gehaa bei-a, examine him*. The type of relator required by a verb leads to the setting up of a number of verb classes, which has, however, not been attempted here.

(b) *tana-*, *to, for in*: *haa tana-au, give to me*; *na hereho ni tana-'o, this is for you*; *nugaa tana sina, put it in the sun*, *Tana-* then forms a substitute for the lack of a verb *to have* in Arosi: *a gere raha i hu'u tanaau, I have a bad cough*; *e siha i'a na bei'o?, how many fish have you?*, lit. *how many fish (are there) with you?* is an alternative.

There is also a root *ta* which produces as transitive *ta-hi-a* and a remoter transitive *ta'ini-a* or *ta'ira'i-*. What is the exact relationship of this to *tana-* is not clear, but in many Melanesian languages, both in the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides there is a simple relator *ta* which seems to be lacking in Arosi. The meaning is different from the the English viewpoint; it is not *to* but *from*: Fox gives s.v. *ta*, *'ari ta-hi-a, go away from him*, which may also be *'ari wou ta'inia (wou indicates motion away from the speaker without specifying direction: see below)*. For this see Dictionary s.v. *ta'i*, 2.

(c) *suri, along, at, to, through, following, after, on account of, according to* (Dictionary s.v. *suri*), with a verb *suuri-*, *follow* which seems to be only a variant spelling of the same word. Used as a relator, *suri* represents movement in the direction of the third person, as against first or second: *'ari suri i tara, go along the path* but it has some

^{*} Fox, *Arosi Dictionary* s.v. *be'i* gives another form with glottal stop. This appears to be the remoter transitive form of *bei* > *be'ini-a, to be concerned with*: *na 'ari bei'inia i ha'a ana, he went in the matter of his money*; but as Fox states that the simple *bei* can be used as *to be in partnership with*, it would seem that the correct entry would be *be'i* > *be'ini-a*, with *bei* (no glottal stop) as a development from it. No doubt dialect is at the bottom of this doublet, as *be-nga, bed* is paralleled by West Arosi *be'a*, to which Bauro *pe'a* regularly corresponds. In more than one instance a glottal stop is doubtful, and forms with and without it are in use. This would seem to be one of them.

special uses, such as *suri rodo*, *at night*, which may also be *no'ai rodo*, *in the night*, with very little difference. Suffixes to *suri* are verbal: *boi suri-au*, *come after me, come follow me*; *'o haana suriau*, *copy me, follow my example*.

An extension allows *suri-a* to introduce a clause: *suria + i 'ai'a rongoana*, *because he didn't hear*; or be followed by an object: *suria + i hei'irisi amu*, *because you wish it, as you wish*.

(d) *huni-* defined in the Dictionary as *upon, to, on to, among*: e.g. *ringi-si-a huni-a*, *pour it on him*; *a hura'a a siri huni-ra*, *he went out and entered amongst them, mixed with them*, and less literally, *a'ua?*, *huni e noni?*, *what do you mean? That he was a man?*; *a araria huni'o*, *it is right for you*.

This relator also can become a clause introducer, in the sense of *that, so that, in order that*, e.g. *a unua huni wai boi*, *he said (that) I was to come*; *a haa tanaau huni ai ngaua*, *he gave it to him to eat, that he should eat it*. In these instances the verb expressing the purpose is in the future tense: *a ha'atora huni rai o'a nai i'ei*, *he told them to stay there*; *a ha'ate huni rai bwa'i 'ari*, *he said they were not to go*; *a araria huni 'oi 'ari*, *it is right for you to go*. It need not be future if the sense does not require it: *a 'irara huni a amagu a o'a no'ai i'ei*, *he knew that my father was there*.

These are a few of the verbalised relators; others will be listed and illustrated more briefly in alphabetical order; they include the following: *ara'a*, *up*; *baani-*, *from*; *bwarasi-*, *against, in face of*; *didiusi*, *against*; *garangi-*, *near*; *gari, garigari-*, *around*; *hi hura'a*, *going out from*

2. Compound relators

There are two kinds of compound relators, one in which the basic element is nominal, and is combined with suffixes of possession that belong to the noun, and one in which the basic element is verbal, and combines with suffixes that indicate verbal objects.

(1) Relators basically nominal

In relators of this type suffixes of a nominal nature are employed, e.g. *i hunga-na*, *on top of it*, as against others in which the suffix is verbal: *baani-au*, *from me*, *baani-a*, *from him, her, it*. A selection of the nominal relators is given in alphabetical order below. They can be compounded in two ways:

(a) $R_n + N_1$ forming prepositions of place

$R_n + N_2$ forming expressions of time

(b) $R_n + NS$ forming adverbs of place.

$R + N_1$ are localising prepositions:

1. *ahora-*, (a) *above, upon*: *ahorana i hungahunga, on the hill*
(b) *the end of*: *ahorana i tara, at the end of the road, as*
in a 'oa i ahorana i tara, he lived at the end of the road.
2. *bahai-*, *below, under*: *bahaina, under it, on the near side of*: *na*
omaa i bahaina i hungahunga, the village is at the near side of the
mountain.
3. *bahoi-*, *on the other side*: *i bahoina i asi, on the other side of*
the sea.
4. *gege-*, *side, edge, beyond*: *a 'ari i gege i asi, he went across the*
sea; it is possible to say either i gege i asi or i gegena i asi, at
its side the sea.
5. *hunga-*, *top, on*: *i hungana, on top of it; i hungara, on them; i*
hungamu, on you, etc.; i hungana i hasi'ei, on the tree.
6. *madora-*, *space or time between two things or events*: *madorana Uki*
mei Arosi, between Uki and Arosi.
7. *muri-*, *rear, behind*: *i muri, afterwards; i murina i hasi'ei, behind*
the tree.
8. *na'o-*, *front* (valid but rare); *long ago* (*no'ai na'o*); *'oi 'ari na'o,*
you go first; i na'ona, in his presence, expressing either time or
place.
9. *raro-*, *inside, in*: *i rarona i ruma, inside the house.*
10. *ubuta-*, *among, between*: *a 'ari i ubutara, he went among them.*
11. *waihuru*, *before* mostly in regard to time.

Some of these words can be compounded with a prefix *bo-*, indicating a slight advance, *a little more* in a given direction: *i boauru, little further towards land or downwards*. This prefix combines with a number of the relators, verbalised as well as nominalised, e.g. *bohura'a, seawards* < *hura'a, go up*. They will be mentioned again below (p.81).

(ii) Relators basically verbal

Many of this group actually are verbs in their primary function, and all refer to movement in one direction or another. The formula $R_v + N$

therefore indicates 'relators of motion'. They are represented by:

1. ara'a, *go up*: ia ara'a i hungahunga, *he went up the hill* and as specific directive it is used of the sun rising, and of a person travelling east. Similarly,
2. auru, *go down, go west*: a auru mai, *he came from the east (travelling west)*; a heinagu auru, *he sat down; he came from the west* is a tere mai: in each case mai indicates 'motion towards the speaker'.
3. baani-, *from* as in ia haaua baani-au na hereho si, *he took that thing from me*: the verbal baani- and the verbal haaua keep together in the sentence. In comparisons, baani- has the sense *than*: ia goro baani-gu, *he is better* (goro = *good*) *than I*, lit. *good from me* - a form of expression common to many Oceanic languages and not confined to that family.
4. bei- has been discussed above, where it was shown that it also functions as a full verb: 'oi beia, *you assist him, be with him*. The difference between ara'a and bei'a is that although both can be either verbs or relators, the former is more commonly verbal, the latter more commonly prepositional.
5. bwarasi and 6. didiusi, *against, towards, in the way of* - the distinction seems to be originally dialectal rather than semantic, but both are in Arosi nowadays. Bwarasi < bwara, *oppose*; didiusi is seen in: 'o ura didiusia i sina, *you are standing against the sun, between me and the sun*. Bwarasi corresponds to goro in the Mota of Banks Islands.
7. garangi- or ha'agarangi-, *near, close to, as verb approach*.
8. gari-, *go round, encircle*: na maeronga a garigaria i omaa, *the enemy encircled the village*.
9. hura'a, *go out, away, out of*, the opposite of siri, *enter*: a hura'a wou, *he went outside*; a siri mai nai rarona, *he entered in, he came inside*.
10. ora, *following, according to, in keeping with*: ia 'ai'a su'u tanagia orada i oraoraa aga, *he has not paid us back according to our wrong doing*.
11. suuri, suri, *follow, after*: na noni a 'ari suria, *the man went after him*.
12. tahuraga, *through, pass through*: a 'ari tahuraga i omaa, *he went through the village*.

13. 'uruha, *in the middle*, with by-forms 'iruha, 'ubuta' (with noun suffixes): 'uru'ari, *farther on*, lit. *going amid*; 'uruhura'a, *farther on*, lit. *middle going out*; 'uruauru, *deep down in*, 'uruhanai, *crossing over*.

(iii) The bo- modifier

A prefix bo- can be added to some of the relators, modifying the meaning much like *a little more* in English, e.g. boauru, *a little farther down*. The forms most commonly found are: bo ara'a, *a little farther up, go up a little more*; boauru, *a little farther down*; bohura'a, *seawards*; bomai, *a little closer here*; bomana, *farther on*; bosiri, *enter a little closer, landwards*; botere, *lower down*. The phrase 'o bo mai ihei, *where do you come from?* may be noted.

(iv) Relators with noun substitutes

Relators followed by noun substitutes (C.2.3.) produce equivalents to *here*, *there* and other adverbs of place, according to the formula $R + NS = Adv_{loc}$. There is quite a variety of these, more than just *here* and *there* in English, and it is difficult to discern real differences from the native speaker's point of view. The following are examples:

R + (i)ni, <i>here</i>	R + (i)si, <i>there</i>	R + hei, <i>where?</i>
ne'ini < nai ini	ne'isi	naihei
no'ai ini	no'ai isi	meihei
nei ini	nei isi	nihei
i ini	i isi	nahei
		ihei
R + oha, <i>time</i>	R + ge(ita), <i>when?</i>	R + 'ei (rel.)
oha nani, <i>then (past)</i>	ngaita (future)	i'ei, no'ai 'ei,
oha baani, <i>long past</i>	nagei (past)	<i>thereat</i>
oha orea, <i>then recently</i>	nage(ta) (past)	
oha ni, <i>now</i>	no'ai geita (future)	
oha si, <i>then</i>		

A few examples of the various usages are taken from the translations: tarainei ra ura ini, *some of them are standing here*; a goro gai awa ini, *it is good that we are here*; ia 'ai'a ini, *he is not here*; ia nai ini, *here he is*; 'ameu mei haaua mwadau maihei i maho-i-ngau no'ai ini?, *where-from (maihei) can we get food here (no'ai ini)?*; na wou ni, *here* (but rather more distant from speaker, as wou indicates movement away).

Examples involving *isi* take on a similar pattern, but with reference to distance from speaker: *ia 'ai'a beiameu, ia no'ai isi, he is not with us, he is over there.*

The phrases with *'ei* are all relatives, corresponding to *there* in English, or relative *where*: *the house where he is staying, na ruma ia o'a i'ei, the house he is staying thereat. latei na orana nai'ei, whoever is living in it* of a place already mentioned. The usage is closely akin to Polynesian *iai, iei*, though not necessarily historically connected with it, e.g. *mou hora tere i omaa si, ma mou awa gau i'ei, run away to that village and remain therein (in it); a ta'eha i hungahunga ma heinagu nai'ei, he went up on to a hill and sat down there.*

The forms with *hei* ask a question: *naihei?, where?; meihei?, whence?; e aidangi ni hei beia mo'o ni?, a knowledge from where with this person?, i.e. where has this person got the knowledge?; na mwani maho ini maihei?, where have these things come from?*

The temporal interrogative *ge, gei, geta* distinguishes questions relating to past or future time: *'o 'unua tanaameu i maho isi nai ngaita?, tell us when these things shall be?; 'o boi nagei?, when did you come?; 'ameu meu omesia na ngaita?, when did we see him?:* the particle *na* marks past time. *No'ai geita na hereho rago ni rai taha mai?, when shall these things come about?*

Expressions involving *oha*, *time* are statements, not questions: *oha ni, this time = now; oha baani, time from (an event) = long ago; ai tari oha, shall arrive time = until: 'oi o'a nai' isi ai tari oha wai gui 'unua tana'o, stay there until I tell you.*

General expressions of time and place belong rather to the dictionary than to a grammar.

(v) Directives

Two relators of importance are *mai*, *movements towards the speaker* and *wou*, *movement away from the speaker*. Such relators are common throughout Oceania, including Polynesia; *mai* is common to most of the languages, but *wou* appears to be a local form. Examples: *'oi boi mai, come here!; 'oi 'ari wou, go away!; 'o ha'aataria mai, send him here!; 'o ha'aataria wou, send him away!* The directives are not used so commonly as in Polynesian languages, and in many instances where there is use of them in such a language as Maori they are not found in the Arosi utterance. Where they are found they imply actual movement.

(vi) Relators of accompaniment

The normal relator indicating *with, along with*, is *beia*, which has already been discussed as one of the verbalised relators. There is a second, however, *ha'i*, whose use is different. It is an adverbial formative, and the glottal stop is not always present. (a) Indicating a quality of action: *ha'i ahugoro, with a cheerful (goro) heart (ahu), cheerfully*: Fox's example is *ra tau'arona i mou hai'ahugoro, they worked the garden cheerfully*; others are *ha'ito'oni, with clothing, clothed*; *ha'ihusus, childbearing*; and such a compound noun as *ha'ihoho, with bonds, a prisoner*. (b) With loss of glottal stop, *hai-* also occurs: *ha'idoudou, haidoudou, with weeping, sadly*, but Fox distinguishes a change of meaning with loss of glottal stop, and instances *ha'idoudou, with longing*, as against *haidoudou, longing for another*.

This *ha'i-*, *hai-* would seem to be the same prefix that is used with kinship terms: *ha'i-ama-da, father and son, a father with his children*, and in this case the 3rd plural marker *-da* is usually present; *ha'ihungoda, a man and his father-in-law*, and a number of other compounds which will be found listed in the dictionary.

Where *with* implies instrument and not accompaniment, the relator is *'ini*, already treated.

C.3. Arosi Story and Discourse Analysis

In the preceding Grammar no attempt has been made to deal with language above the sentence level, although a complete covering of the language would demand that such analysis be undertaken. For this reason a short passage of a traditional Arosi story is here taken and looked at from the viewpoint of the narrative style and the sentence linking processes employed.

The passage is taken from the beginning of a story recorded and published by Dr C.E. Fox and Rev. F.H. Drew, 'Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.XLV (1915), pp.217-20. The text is then followed by some comments on the structure of the narrative style exhibited, on the assumption that it is a fairly typical example of its genre. Some rearrangements of spelling (in addition to the insertion of glottal stop) and translation have been made. Paragraph division as given here is not part of the published text. The translation is that used by the authors on p.180 of their article. The sentences are numbered, and the pauses or breaks within it, marked orthographically

by commas, colons and full stops, are indicated here by upright lines, varying in number according to the length of the pause implied:

- | equivalent to a comma,
- || equivalent to a semi-colon or colon,
- ||| equivalent to full stop or question mark in a western style text.

What appears most clearly is the artificiality of such a marking system in an oral literary item. The native speaker does not use the same variety of pauses as does the European story-teller. The paragraph also is a rather artificial division. It is used here to mark a clear transition from one stage to another of the story.

Certain differences in the manner of story-telling also make themselves noticed. It is, for instance, not stated that the uri fruit was a spirit in changed form; by a native audience this would at least be suspected and certainly would cause no difficulty; when the spirit changes back into his own shape the audience would find no difficulty. That such a situation could arise is part of the cultural situation assumed by the narrator but unfamiliar to the westerner - for whom, of course, the story was never designed!

Following the suggestions of Longacre, the story text is marked to show the following structures: firstly, a contrast of nucleus (the main statement of the utterance) and peripheries (additional details of various kinds). From the discourse viewpoint the sentence may be regarded as consisting of $\pm P_n + N_n \pm P_n$, in which N represents an obligatory nucleus, and P represents an optional periphereous element. There may be any number of each of these, and this fact is marked by a subscript n. The commonest sentence types are:

TYPE	SUBTYPE
1. juxtaposition	1. recapitulation
	2. paraphrase repetition
	3. sequence
	4. echo question
2. concatenation	1. co-ordinate (<i>and</i>)
	2. antithetical (<i>but</i>)
	3. alternative (<i>or</i>)
3. implication	1. general (<i>if</i>)
	2. contrary to fact (<i>if it had been</i>)
	3. correlative (<i>as..as</i>)
4. quotation	1. direct
	2. indirect

The peripheries are marked as follows:

- PA attention markers, vocatives, etc.
 PE exclamation or emphasis
 PL linking word or clause

Some special condition:

- PM manner of action
 PP place of the action (*where, there*)
 PR reason or purpose (*because, so that*)
 PT time clause or word (*then...*)

Other P-type clauses may introduce:

- PI if clauses, implications (see also 3 above)
 PC concessions (*although*)

There is bound to be a subjective element in the analysis offered below, but it will at least give initial guidance to the more detailed study of sentence connection and discourse analysis. The text follows.

Na Onioni 'inia Hasihonue'ero

1. 2:1 → I:2 →
 ||| Ma e rua haiwai | na sae mwane na atana ia Bworouharimamu |
 And two marry the man male name-his B.
- 1:2 → 2. 2:1 →
 ma na atana i urao ana Saumamaruita'aru ||| ma raru
 name-her the woman his S. and they-two
- ←PP → 3. 1:3 → 2:1 →
 na-i omaa adarua ||| Mia S. a bwote | ma raru a 'ari
 at-the village their-two And S. conceive and they-two go
- ←PP → 4. 2:1 →
 suria i one | ma raru 'omesia i hua i uri |
 along-it the shore and they-two see-it the fruit (of) an uri
- ←PP (1:3) → 2:1 →
 na taresia hura'a mai suria i wai raha ||| ma gu hatara
 that float out hither along-it the water big and then reach
- ←PP → 2:1 → 5. 2:1 →
 na-i one | ma raru haua ||| ma raru ha'ate oani ||
 to-the shore and they-two seize-it. and they-two say thus:
6. 4:1 →
 'na hei na wa mai i'ei i hua i uri
 where that originate hither at-there the fruit (of) the uri

→ 7. 2:1 → 1:3 →
 ni?" || ma raru suuria i ta'etani | raru ta'e |||
 this?" And they-two carry-it the small-canoe they-two embark.

8. 2:1 → 1:3 → PP →
 ma raru 'ari wou | raru siri suria i wai raha |||
 and they-two go out they-two enter along-it the water big.

9. 2:1 → 10. 4:1 →
 mea B. a oani 'inia urao ana S. || "'oi kukuha ha'agorohia
 and B. he thus to-her wife his S. you-shall cover carefully-it

← 4:1 (PT) →
 i abe | ma na-i oha gara'i suuria i bobo
 the body and at-the time we-two-shall follow-it the side (of)

← PP → 1:3 →
 i uri bohura'a mai | ma i'oe 'oi abu'i siri wou
 the uri outwards hither and you you-shall shall-not enter onwards

← PT → 1:3 →
 na-i ohana i utaora na | gara'i ta'e raurau ahoi." |||
 at-the time-its a sunshower that we-two-shall embark quickly again".

11. 2:1 → ← PP →
 ma raru sio uri wou | na-i murina ba'aro
 and they-two pick uri onwards at-the back-its overhanging

→
 boara'a wou |||
 outwards onwards.

12. 2:1 → 1:3 →
 ma na adaro a gu orisia ahoi | a gu ru
 and the spirit it then change-it again it then come-down

→ ← 1:3 → 13. 1:3 →
 mai | mana na gu utaora ||| mana adaro si ha'aheuheu
 hither and-it it then sunshower. And-the spirit that change-form

→ PR → 14. 1:2 →
 'inia do na urao si ||| na atana i adaro si ia
 at-it so-that the woman that. The name-its the spirit that

→ 15. 1:3 → 4:1 → ← PR →
 Warungae ||| a ha'ate oani || "gara'i ta'e raurau | a gasi
 W. it speak thus: we-two-shall embark quickly lest

→ 16. 2:1 →
 gu ngau garaa ia Warungae" ||| ma raru ta'e mana adaro
 then eat us-two and they-two embark and-the spirit

→ PR → 17. 1:3 →
 si a ta'e i na'o ||| mea B. na ta'e muri a harutanga'ini
 that it embark in front and B. he embark behind he paddle-away-with

→
 rarua |||
 them-two.

18. PT → 1:3 →
 ma oha raru hura'a mau wou || ia S. urao ana
 and time they-two go-out still onwards S. wife his
- 1:3 2:1 →
 mo'o si a gu boi | ome | ma raru bwani ta'e |
 that-one yonder she then come look and they-two already embark
- 2:1 → 1:3 → 4:1 → 1:1 → 1:3 →
 ma awara | a ha'ate oani || "inau ni | nau mau ni || e na
 and cry she say thus: "I this I still this a
- 19. 2:1 →
 adaro 'o rutangia si" || mana adaro a ha'ate oani ||
 spirit you carry-it that". and-the spirit it say thus:
- 1:2 → 1:2 → 1:3 →
 "a pwari'i naasi | a adaro nana gu naasi | 'o
 deceives that one, a spirit that-one then that-one, you-must
- 1:3 →
 haruta raurau | a gasi ngau garaa" ||
 paddle quickly it lest eat us-two".
20. 2:1 → 2:1 →
 mana urao si a totoro matoo | ma raru 'ai'a
 and-the woman that she call-out in-vain and they-two not
- 2:1 →
 araisuria | ma hura'a suria i rauna i suu |
 agree-to-her and go-out along-it the side-its the harbour
- 2:1 → 2:1 →
 ma 'ome-ha'aia rarua | ma raru ahunia ||
 and see-make-lost they-two and they-two lost-to-sight-her.

The following is the free translation as given by Fox and Drew (p.180) of their article:

Two people were married; the name of the man was Bworouharimamu and the name of his wife was Saumamaruita'aru. They lived in their village by the shore. When Saumamaruita'aru was about to bear a child, they went for a walk along the sand, and they saw a fruit of the uri (*Spondias dulcis*), which the current had carried out from the neighbouring river and the sea had washed up on the beach; and they took it and asked one another whence it could have come. So they carried down their canoe, launched it through the surf and paddled along the coast until they came to the mouth of the river, into which they turned. Bworouharimamu told his wife Saumamaruita'aro to cover up carefully her body, and said to her, "When we land we shall go to this side of the uri, the side nearest to us, and don't you go in to the farther side; and when there is a sunshower we must hurry into our canoe". So they went along

gathering the fruit, but the woman wandered away to the farther side of the tree under an overhanging branch. Then the woodland spirit became changed again and came down from the tree, and then there was a sunshower, and the spirit took the form of the woman. The name of the spirit was Warungae. Then the spirit said to the man, "Come, jump quickly into the canoe with me or Warungae will see us and devour us." So they embarked, Warungae first and then Bworouharimamu, who took the steering paddle, and they paddles away down the river. And now Saumamaruita'aru came back from the farther side of the tree and saw her husband and the spirit paddling away and already some distance off. She began shouting and calling out to her husband, "Here I am, here I am, it's I myself, but that is the evil spirit you are carrying off with you in your canoe!" But the spirit said to him, "Ah, what a clever deceiver, that is the spirit himself all the time; paddle hard or he will devour us both". It was all in vain that the wife shouted herself hoarse on the bank, for neither of them paid any further attention to her, but paddles along the edge of the harbour until they were both lost to sight.

There is much more of the story which is not quoted here; the text of the first section has been given for purposes of linguistic analysis only. There are some things that are not clear to the European reader, even with a literary translation such as that given by Fox and Drew. For instance, the relevance of the *utaora*, the sunshower is not obvious until it is known that evil spirits were liable to take possession of people caught in such a shower - and this is exactly what was happening here, or rather, he took the opportunity to use the form of the fruit first and then of the woman. Points such as these are not linguistic but need to be known for full comprehension.

Up to the present, very little work has been done on discourse analysis, and practically none on Melanesian languages. In the following notes, material published by R.E. Longacre has been used to supply the initial stages of such analysis.*

The passage given here is fairly typical of much Melanesian storytelling. The style is simple. There are no conjunctions (relators) except *ma*, and. Polynesian sentence connections are often more elaborate

* R.E. Longacre, *Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages*, 3 vols., Santa Ana, California, 1968, and 'The Notion of Sentence', *Georgetown Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, No.20 (1967), 15-27.

than this, and Indonesian texts certainly carry more marks of artistry. There are no subordinate clauses in the material used here. Such forms exist, and they have been discussed in the body of the grammar, but they are not so widely used by the native as by Europeans translating from a European language into a Melanesian language - and to that extent even the best translations are often non-native in their style. The native narrator may take great interest in the story, but it is the content that interests him rather than linguistic embellishments.

The marking of paragraphs, sentences and their subdivisions here corresponds to European concepts rather than native, but they are based on variations in intonation patterns used by the narrator. The stories are, of course, not - or not yet - written by the native speakers of the language, unless at a stage of considerable sophistication under European influences.

Not all possible sentence types are illustrated in the above passage, but it does present examples of

1. simple linked statements, joined by *ma*, and
2. juxtaposed statements, not formally linked at all: see 16 and 17 especially. This expresses excitement and vividness. It is far less usual than concatenation by means of *ma*.

There are no examples of implication clauses (*if*), but there are of time clauses (*when*, *oha* - see 9 and 16). Sequence is shown by *gu* (future *gu'i* is not shown) - see 11 and 16.

Quotation clauses appear in 5, 9, 14 and 18; these are all direct questions. There is no indirect quotation form in Arosi; English *he said he would go* becomes what the speaker actually said - *he said, "I will go"*; *he asked me to go* becomes *he asked me thus, "Will you go?"* The quotation marker *oani* which occurs a number of times is explained in C.2.2.ii. as a form which points forward to something about to be said; *oasi* on the other hand points back to something already said - a distinction lacking in English.

The analysis given here is not carried through into detail; type of sentence, division of nucleus and periphery as developed by Longacre, have not been presented. This would require more study than has yet been possible. What has been done aims to show the main differences between Arosi oral literature and European literary styles. Other types of speech, e.g. procedural, explaining 'how to do it', would need to be studied also.

Neither has Arosi poetry been mentioned: beyond a few specimens of songs in Fox's work it has not even been collected. No attempt is made here to illustrate poetic composition. Song is composed to be sung among peoples such as the Arosi, and ethnomusicology is not part of the grammar of a language. The account of the language given here may, however, serve to lead students to continue the study, and carry it into these other realms of literature, both prose and verse, which would enlarge the present work too much, even if the author were capable of doing it. In the absence of literary studies of Melanesian languages, the further application of any type of discourse analysis to them is overdue and would be welcomed.